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New Republic

NOVEMBER 8, 1948

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THE MARSHALL PLAN

LAWRENCE LADER ON

ISRAEL'S AIR FORCE

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HAWTHORNE AND THOREAU

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BERNARD SHAW SAYS:

"THE TRIAL OF THE 12 APOSTLES"

Nothing in the sham that now passes for democracy is more childishly foolish than legislation in the U. S. A., nor so conclusive as to the failure of its schools to teach history. In America today the number of citizens who have read The Communist Manifesto, books of Marx and Engels or of V. I. Lenin and Upton Sinclair and have been converted to communism by them haven't been counted; but it can hardly be less than 1 percent of the population of upwards of 170,000,000.

"Illiterate as the world still is, we estimate its Marxists at a million and a quarter. To suppress communism, the American government has arrested 12 persons and charged them with advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence which is exactly what Washington and Jefferson did, thereby creating the United States of America.

"The founder of Christianity was a Communist with 11 faithful apostles, chief of whom struck a man and his wife dead for keeping back their money from a common pool instead of sharing it. But American legislators, ostensibly Christians, don't read the Bible, much less Karl Marx. They would charge St. Peter with sedition as well as murder were he not beyond their reach.

"I refrain from comment. The situation speaks for itself."

Ayot Saint Lawrence, Welwyn, Hertfordshire, England

NEW YORK TIMES, THU

COMMUNISTS' ARREST CRITICIZED BY SHAW

The Daily Worker announced last night that it would publish in today's issue a statement by George Bernard Shaw criticizing the arrest of twelve Communist leaders here. The statement, in which the nonagenarian playwright remarked that Christ was a Communist, was made exclusively to the Communist newspaper and cabled from London by its correspondent there, The Worker said.

by GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

DEFENSE OF THE 12 COMMUNIST LEADERS... IS A DEFENSE OF YOUR CIVIL LIBERTIES!

The indictments in this heresy trial charge NO OVERT ACT. They charge only that the 12 "conspired to teach and advocate" the doctrines of Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin, and allege that this is equivalent to teaching and advocating the forcible overthrow of the U. S. government.

If Marxism—the working-class science of social change—is outlawed, the Bill of Rights goes out the window, and freedom of speech and thought will be banished from our land.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE ISSUE of peace or war will probably be decided in the next two months. The decision comes in what will be an interregnum. For the 12 weeks between a presidential election and an inauguration our government is off balance. America has, as almost everyone now knows, a silly system of government. It didn't matter in crinoline days, now it affects the world.

Let's review this election. The chief issue was the row between President and Congress. This grew out of the American separation of executive and legislative powers, a system unique among large nations, which makes every President the natural antagonist of Congress.

Next came the political conventions. These were so organized that neither party selected a man the people wanted. The election frustrated the voters by giving them no adequate choice. It is dangerous in a democracy when the institutions of government let the masses down and give them no deep sense of identification with those who govern them.

Now comes the interregnum. Congress doesn't meet until January 3; the President doesn't take office until January 20. The suspense in Europe is growing and can't last indefinitely—will it snap before then?

The United States abolished the absurd "lame duck" session in 1933 by the Twentieth Amendment. How long will it be before we take heed of other institutional anomalies? While the election is fresh, let us note these needs: (1) A better method of nominating candidates; (2) shorter campaigns; (3) immediate installation of new Presidents; (4) bridging the executive-legislative chasm by adoption of some modification of our form of parliamentary system.

Every four years we feel we really hear America's heart beat as we travel across country with presidential candidates. For two months with Truman and Dewey we have crisscrossed into every nook and corner of this majestic nation. We have been mauled by Boston cops; seen leather-faced Iowa farmers quizzically sizing up candidates; dashed through San Francisco streets behind screaming sirens; seen telephone books shredded into the canyons between New York's skyscrapers; looked down from a railway siding on a frosty fall morning at South Bend, Indiana, on 20,000 close-packed people, whose faces made a Persian carpet.

But the gay crowds who came to see the election-campaigning ritual were soon satisfied. One glance at the candidates and they moved away. Given their choice, they would have picked neither Dewey nor Truman. The result was public apathy.

This is the week when newspapers publish smug editorials about the election "mandate." It seems to us that this election was largely a confirmation of a previous fact, foreshadowed by earlier events. As we have pointed out before, almost without exception the party which captures control of Congress in the mid-term election takes the White House at the next presidential election. Thus the GOP victory in 1946 reduced the riddle of 1948 pretty largely to "How much?" rather than "By whom?" It seems to us that the swing to the Right in American politics came back in 1946 and that, despite contrary editorials, this election was largely a mechanical ratification of a previous fact. Actually the tide of conservatism among the voters may have receded in the past two years.

Never before was a finger pointed so relentlessly at the record of a reactionary Congress as in this election. It was a great educational drive. For this feat Harry Truman deserves well of

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the real truth about

ISRAEL TODAY

Six *New Republic* Articles

In the millions of words that are poured out about the situation in Palestine, it is often hard to distinguish fact from fiction, impartial reporting from propaganda.

New Republic's series of six articles on this crucial subject, which tells, fairly and fully, what is happening in the Near East today, begins November 22.

The author—J. L. Teller—is an American authority on the Near East and its problems who has just returned from the latest of many visits to the region. His articles will answer, among many others, such questions as:

- how does the "cold war" affect Israel?
- where do Britain, Egypt and Turkey fit in?
- what do the chief Arabian groups demand?
- what about the Jewish underground?
- is Israel succeeding as a melting pot?
- what does Israel's capital, Kirya, look like?
- what about Irgun and the Stern gang?

In addition, Mr. Teller offers many picturesque glimpses of Israel today. He tells you, for example, why the Jews let the Arabs under their control keep their radio sets. He tells you about Arabian children in modern, progressive, co-educational Jewish schools. He discusses British soldiers who stayed behind to help the Jews—and reveals why they are not permitted to go home. He tells of the turmoil created because *Certain People* do not rise when a lady enters the room—and why.

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the nation. He was not a great President, though he may some day, not far off, become a great Senator. But in this campaign he shamed his party into life, identifying it with New Deal liberalism. He has ensured the government a viable Democratic opposition. More important was the emergence of a common front in labor, with AFL, CIO and Railway Brotherhoods in city after city finally making common cause under common peril.

Our entry for the most important speech of the campaign is Dewey's on foreign policy at Salt Lake City, where he disclosed his intention of "prodding" Marshall Plan recipients into closer European unity. The best written was Truman's at Oklahoma City, in his courageous support of civil liberties and temperate discussion of communism, and/or his St. Paul address outlining a fighting liberal creed. The funniest was droll old Harold Ickes' "love-love-love" speech directed at Thomas "Elusive" Dewey.

Notes. Every GOP housecleaning in Washington since 1890 has been followed by a big new tariff bill; today the American Tariff League is again stirring. . . . Dewey's first great fight for decency may be to head off slaughter of the Hull trade program. . . . Hoover's reorganization of the executive will probably pry loose a lot of jobs from the merit system to become political plums. . . . We personally know three Washington correspondents who believe an inimical Dewey intervened with their publishers about their jobs. . . . The GOP captured the State Department well before the election returns were in. A Senate committee is sending its own "Ambassador" to China: the Bridges "watchdog" committee on ECA funds is sending Bill Bullitt, former envoy to Moscow. . . . Question asked us most frequently as the campaign closed was, "Does he know it?" referring to Truman's impending defeat; kind-hearted America felt grieved at what she was doing, like disappointing a child at Christmas: it must have made many Truman votes.

Washington T. R. B.

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VOLUME 119, NUMBER 19, ISSUE 1771, NEW YORK CITY, NOVEMBER 8, 1948

New Republic

THE WEEK

Bill of Rights for Scabs

THE National Labor Relations Board came out last week with a new interpretation of the Taft-Hartley Act. It prohibited "mass picketing" in a long list of cases, thereby following up its previous decision that a union may be legally ousted if it strikes over "economic" issues and if the company replaces the union members with strikebreakers. The difference in philosophy between the old Wagner Act and the Taft-Hartley Act could scarcely be more dramatically illustrated.

The legally protected right of a company to fire strikers and hire strikebreakers is scarcely a debatable point under the Taft-Hartley Act. Senator Joseph H. Ball of Minnesota, one of its authors, stated, when the law was being discussed in Congress, that the effect of the statute's language was to establish this right.

Under the Wagner Act, the old labor board held that a striker was still an employee. If a union's majority was challenged, strikers retained the right to vote on the question of representation. The new board holds that, under T-H, strikers who have been "replaced" with "permanent" new employees no longer have the right to vote. This applies in all cases where the strike is about economic issues—wages, seniority, pension plans or anything else involving money payments. Unless the courts ignore the legislative history of the T-H Act, it is difficult to see how the board can be overruled on this decision.

The mass-picketing decision was made in the Sunset Line and Twine Company case. The board unanimously overruled a trial examiner and held that even non-violent "mass" picketing or "threats" against non-strikers were unfair labor practices. If the union fails to cease and desist, as the board ordered, an enforcement directive may be sought in a US Circuit Court of Appeals. If the union still fails to comply, violators will be subject to fines and jail sentences for contempt.

The board, by a vote of three to two, extended this decision to hold that an international union would become liable along with the offending local if appropriate principal-and-agency relations existed. This part of the decision, if upheld by the courts, drastically revises the long-established law affecting union responsibility for the possibly illegal acts of individual members.

The burden of proof is put on the accuser, but a union might be held responsible for acts that its officers had expressly forbidden. Mere presence of an international officer, when illegal acts occur, might make the international union guilty. The international's treasury might be exposed to court fines; it might be more clearly vulnerable in civil damage suits.

The effect of the decision on "economic" strikers may be relatively small during a period of full employment. If and when mass joblessness returns, a union attempting to defend its wage standards against extreme pay cuts would be at a great disadvantage. If its members strike, they can be "replaced" with "permanent" new employees—recruited from the otherwise jobless—and the company can then challenge the union's authority to represent the employees. Strikers will not be allowed to vote. The Wagner Act did not put strikers at this disadvantage; it maintained the union intact, leaving the parties with relatively equal strength for the dispute.

The mass-picketing decision makes the federal government, in effect, a local police authority in every industrial conflict. Preservation of law and order will no longer be left to local authorities. The federal government can step in, and hand down decisions which expose strikers to criminal penalties without trial by a jury of their peers.

The law establishing this "new order" was passed by the same Representatives—Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans—who have refused to pass an anti-lynch law on the ground that the federal government had no constitutional right to "intrude" in local affairs to the extent of protecting suspected criminals from lynch mobs.

As the political campaign closed, no one had yet claimed that these two decisions upheld the case of those who called the Taft-Hartley Act a "new bill of rights" for labor.

WILLARD SHELTON

Glorified Poorhouses

A FINE NEW WAY of solving the housing problem has been proposed by F. Orin Woodbury, the enlightened president of the Salt Lake Real Estate Board, as reported in the Salt Lake City *Telegram*. Woodbury wants controls abolished so that rents can go up, so that more people will be forced to double up, so that more property can be vacated and made available for sale. His purpose is, of course, humanitarian: "We oppose government-subsidized housing, grouping together the beneficiaries in glorified poorhouses, thus labeling them wards of charity, and confining their associations and those of their children mainly to others similarly situated."

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THE LAME-DUCK BUDGET

Because of an oversight in the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted 15 years ago, the election of a new President causes a tangle in management of the nation's fiscal affairs. Although Congress convenes on January 3 in accordance with the amendment, the President is still required by law to submit his budget and economic report in the early days of the session. Thus an outgoing President must submit a budget despite the fact that a new President is to be inaugurated January 20.

The Budget and Accounting Act of 1921, which established the Bureau of the Budget and required an annual estimate of the government's income and financial requirements, provides that the President shall transmit a budget message "on the first day" of each regular session. Similarly, the Employment Act of 1946 provides that "at the beginning" of each session the President shall transmit to Congress a report evaluating national economic developments.

The awkwardness of the situation is obvious. It requires no crystal ball to foretell how little interest a Republican Congress would take in a Democratic President's budget or economic proposals 10 or 15 days before he leaves office. Congress will be interested only in the views of the incoming President —for, after all, the proposals could apply only to the fiscal year beginning long after the inauguration.

Nothing like it has happened before. Until 1933, when the "Lame Duck" Amendment to the Constitution was adopted, the terms of congressmen and the President ended March 4, the date of inauguration of newly elected officials. Congress met on the first Monday in December and its regular session at the close of a presidential term ended on March 3. Thus, in December, 1932, Herbert Hoover presented a budget for the fiscal year 1934 (beginning July 1, 1933), and all of it except the appropriation bill for the District of Columbia was acted upon before President Roosevelt assumed office.

The Twentieth Amendment was intended to prevent an administration and a Congress repudiated at the polls from taking action of far-reaching importance in the interim between election and inauguration. But in submitting the amendment, Congress did nothing about the Budget Act. And in 1946, when it wrote the Employment Act, it again overlooked the 17-day hiatus created by the amendment.

On the eve of the election, both the Bureau of the Budget and the President's Council of Economic Advisers were at work preparing 1949 reports. Each assumed that President Truman, defeated or not, would lay them before Congress—and that if Truman were defeated, each would have to prepare a new set of figures for President Dewey after January 20.

THE ATOM AND THE UNION

Can Communists participate in the atomic-energy program? The Atomic Energy Commission answers *No.* It has directed the General Electric Company to break its company-wide contract with the Communist-dominated United Electrical Workers' Union in two atomic-energy plants.

Is it a constitutional right of all workers to organize and bargain collectively through leaders of their own choosing? The UE answers *Yes.* It is suing the AEC for "arbitrary illegal and unconstitutional" action threatening the existence of the UE and depriving its 575,000 members of their constitutional rights.

Once again freedom and security seem to be in conflict. The Administration and the CIO share the same deep concern over the implications of this case.

The action against the UE sounds like the first step in a drive against unionism in atomic-energy plants. Actually it is the first result of the Commission's new policy of opening these plants to union organization.

Under military administration, atomic-energy plants were barred entirely to unions until, in 1946, three plants in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, were opened to unions as test cases. One plant voted for no union; one for the Atomic Trades and Labor Council (AFL), one for the right-wing United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers (CIO).

A fourth plant became unionized when GE took over the Peek Street plant in Schenectady. Under a company-wide agreement, signed in 1936 and effective until 1950, the plant's few hundred workers became UE members automatically. No action was taken by the AEC since the plant was so small. But when GE pointed out that the several thousand workers now being recruited for the new Knolls plant would also automatically come under UE discipline, the Commission protested. GE replied that under the 1936 agreement its hands were tied. So the Commission intervened. In the same order, of September 29, by which all AEC plants were opened to trade unions, GE was ordered not to bargain at Knolls with the UE.

In its detailed order to GE the Commission established two standards of general significance. It declared that union officers "exercising administrative, negotiating or disciplinary authority" over atomic-energy workers were subject to the terms of the Atomic Energy Act. And it refused to accept the UE as a loyal union because UE officers with potential authority over atomic workers had "alleged Communist affiliations" and had refused to comply with the anti-Communist provision of the Taft-Hartley Act.

In two letters to Albert Fitzgerald, president of the UE, the Commission restated its position and offered to meet with the UE leaders. Its purpose was to suggest that all UE officers undergo loyalty checks, or that a self-contained unit be created within the union independent of the international. Fitzgerald did not reply to these letters but issued press releases accusing the Commission of "cheap political maneuvering and outright government-company anti-union collaboration." Thirty officers and Executive

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Board members of UE Local 301 in Schenectady challenged the necessity of any loyalty checks, and the authority of the AEC.

"We reject the idea," they declared, "that the security of our country requires control of our union by a government agency. When you propose to pass upon the qualifications of our officers to decide which ones may represent American workers, you are simply saying that American workers shall no longer be free to pick their representatives in collective bargaining—that a government agency will pick their officers for them."

This is the heart of the issue—and the charge is largely true. Yet it is here that the Commission's argument is strongest. Under Section 10 of the Atomic Energy Act, the Commission is charged with preventing any individual who has not been cleared in an FBI check from obtaining access to restricted information. Obviously, in dealing with contract negotiations, job classifications and grievances over working conditions, union efficiency demands detailed knowledge of plant operations. The GE contract, for example, provides that in handling grievance cases, union officers may make full plant inspections. If the Commission did not claim some control over union officers with "administrative or negotiating authority," it would be placing them in a privileged category. In fact, FBI checks have been carried up to Charles E. Wilson, of GE, and some Executive Council members of the AFL; the Chemical Workers (CIO) accepted them.

The UE is a union in which international officers participate in contract negotiations. Leo Jandreau, a well-known left-winger, is International Vice-President, President of District 3, and Business Agent of Local 301. The Commission is clearly entitled to require such leaders to submit to loyalty checks.

But the Commission also claims authority over union leaders whose powers are only "disciplinary." Here the problem is not access to secret information, but the threat of slowdowns, strikes and sabotage in atomic-energy plants. The commissioners are influenced by testimony accusing Communists of deliberately disrupting war production before Russia was invaded. They are disturbed over the frankly political strike of the Communist-led French miners. They concede that there are legal methods, such as injunctions, to deal with strikes. They believe that prevention is better than suppression. They concede that all strikes have a basis in trade-union grievances. But they add that these grievances may always exist. They point out that in the recent Oak Ridge dispute a long strike might have developed if the high AFL officials who took over negotiations had been unfriendly to the purpose of the atomic-energy program.

Under present conditions, the courts will almost certainly sustain the AEC against the UE in any suit. If the courts should find that the AEC lacks authority, the Act will be strengthened. Yet the implications of the Commission's action are far-reaching.

No jury has yet sustained the charge that the UE leaders are Communists. No court has yet ruled that the Communist Party is not a legitimate political party. By citing non-compliance with the Taft-Hartley Act as evidence of potential disloyalty, the Commission, acting certainly in the spirit of Congress, cast implied suspicion on every non-complying union.

Nor is there any clear distinction between atomic-energy plants and plants producing other weapons or even contributing to armaments production. There is no clear dividing line between Communist domination and Communist participation in unions. Many Defense Department officials would not stop at the UE.

Nor would employers. The atomic-energy industry is notorious for the opposition of its employers to unionism. Edgar Queeny of Montsanto is one example. GE is another. In its statement issued before the UE convention this year, GE went out of its way to tell its employees that Communists and their opponents in the unions shared the same "collectivist" objectives and were equally dangerous. There is a good deal more evidence to indicate that GE and other employers do not want independent democratic unions because they are working to get rid of all unions and to return to company unionism under pressure of the cold war.

America's only safeguard lies in the loyalty of labor's rank and file and the leadership it elects. If the necessity of distinguishing between loyal and disloyal unions is too pressing to await redress by labor's rank and file, then at least the standards for government action and the limits of government intervention must be clearly set. Otherwise, Dewey's friend, William McFetridge, may seem to be even more loyal than Philip Murray; we shall be moving toward a "loyal" Labor Front.

IF EVERY VOTE REALLY COUNTED

by Carroll Kilpatrick

IT IS IRONIC that the South, which for years has blocked electoral reform, now has given the final, convincing argument for reform. The spectacle of a small group of politicians manipulating the ballots and party emblems—and in Alabama making it impossible for the voters to mark a ballot for President Truman—provides the proof, if any were needed, that reform is overdue.

The story of this year's campaign will be remembered, not only for its result, but for its lessons in political trickery. A handful of Louisiana politicians attempted to keep President Truman's name off the ballot. The Talmadge gang chose "uninstructed" presidential electors in Georgia. In other states it was Henry Wallace who could not get on the ballot, and in some it was J. Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat candidate. The circumstances varied, but throughout the country it was made obvious that the antiquated Electoral College system should be

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abolished in favor of the direct election of the President by the people.

The Republican Party was persuaded by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. (R, Mass.) to recognize the need for reform by adopting a platform plank calling for "a revision of the procedure for the election of the President and Vice President which will more exactly reflect the popular vote." Lodge said:

"Only by providing for the popular election of President and Vice President can we avoid the very dangerous possibilities which are inherent in our present system whereby an obsolete Electoral College makes possible the election of a man as President who has not received a majority or plurality of the popular vote."

Three times in US history candidates with the largest popular vote have been denied election because they failed to receive a majority in the Electoral College. The first time was in 1824, when Andrew Jackson polled 50,000 more votes than John Quincy Adams. When the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, Adams was elected. In 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes was made President by one electoral vote, although Samuel J. Tilden held a popular lead of 258,000 votes. In 1888, Grover Cleveland, seeking reëlection after his first term, won 5,540,050 popular votes to 5,444,337 for Benjamin Harrison, but Harrison won in the Electoral College.

Electoral votes seldom reflect the popular vote at all. For instance, Woodrow Wilson received 42 percent of the popular vote and 82 percent of the electoral vote in 1912. The popular vote was split as follows: Wilson, 6,293,019; William Howard Taft, 3,484,956; Theodore Roosevelt, 4,119,507; other candidates, 1,138,950. Wilson received 435 electoral votes to 88 for Roosevelt and 8 for Taft.

The disproportion between electoral and popular votes was shown in a different way in 1924. John W. Davis received 6,000,000 votes in states that gave him no electoral votes; he received 136 electoral votes in states where his total popular vote was less than 2,000,000.

The Roosevelt-Dewey race four years ago again showed the discrepancy. In no state where President Roosevelt received a majority in the 1944 election was a single Dewey vote counted in the final reckoning. In no state where Dewey received a majority was a single Roosevelt vote counted.

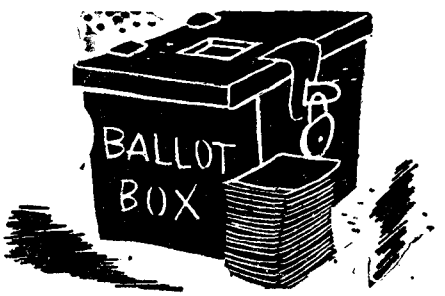
On the basis of the popular vote, Roosevelt should have been credited with 286 electoral votes, and Dewey with 245. Actually, the count stood: Roosevelt, 432; Dewey, 99. The extra votes which the winner received came from the loser.

In New York State in 1940, Wendell L. Willkie received 224,440 fewer votes than Roosevelt out of more than 6,000,000 cast for both. Yet Roosevelt won all the state's electoral votes. In Ohio in 1944, Roosevelt received only 11,500 fewer votes than Dewey out of more than 3,000,000 cast, yet Roosevelt received not one of Ohio's electoral votes.

Another defect in the electoral system is shown by the fact that in 1944 South Carolina had one electoral vote for every 11,893 popular votes cast in that state, while New York had one electoral vote for every 133,869 popular votes its citizens cast.

It is this discrepancy which Southern politicians are determined to maintain. The added weight of the South Carolinian's vote as against that of a person in a state where a greater percentage of citizens enjoy suffrage means nothing to the voter and little to the state. It merely means that it is safe to keep as many people as possible away from the polls without reducing the electoral strength of the state.

Because a number of Southerners are aware that this cannot last and that the country will not tolerate forever a system whereby the electors and not the people are the judges, several Southern members of Congress have proposed a halfway reform. It has won considerable backing outside the South as better than nothing. But it would perpetuate the situation that makes one South Carolinian equal to eleven New Yorkers in the election of a President.



CHARLES ALLEN

The proposal, sponsored by Representative Gossett (D, Tex.) and backed now by Senator Sparkman (D, Ala.), would continue to give each state its electoral vote. But the votes would not all go to one candidate. The unit rule would be abolished and the electoral votes would be divided on a proportionate basis with the popular vote. That would make a Southerner's vote sought after by every candidate, and it would give meaning to the Democratic voters in Maine and Vermont.

But why not go all the way and provide for the direct, popular election of the President and Vice President? In that case, there not only would be competition for the vote of those now qualified but a bid for the great mass of people who have never gone to the polls.

For a century the South complained that its voice was not fully heeded in Washington. For one thing the South was not a factor in any national election after 1916. Then Wilson needed the South to win, but Roosevelt would have won all four times even if the South had voted solidly against him, and Herbert Hoover did not need the votes he received from the South in 1928. But while the South cried over its alleged lack of influence, its own archaic election system, which prevented a competition for its votes, made it the taken-for-granted section. If every vote really counted, it would have been as important for Dewey to have campaigned in Mississippi as in California and as important for Truman to have campaigned in Maine as in New York.

Reform of the electoral system alone would not entirely eliminate the possibility of such frauds as were practised in the South this year. But it would help.

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THE BRITISH TAKE THE LONG DIM VIEW

British and Western European liberals have been expressing concern over Governor Dewey's frank admission that as President he will use ECA "as a means of pushing and prodding" Western European nations toward the goal of European unity, as conceived by a Republican-dominated State Department. The outstanding British weekly, the New Statesman and Nation, takes a gloomy view of the prospect, and calls upon British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin to prepare for a struggle against the Dewey policies "in the name of Western Europe." The magazine's article follows.

THE SENSE of fatuity which pervades the debates in Paris is largely due to the fact that everyone present knows that nothing can be settled until after November 5th, and probably not until the new American President takes over next January. The United Nations are bombinating in order to fill the vacuum caused by the constitutional inability of the United States of America to conduct a foreign policy during the months preceding a presidential election.

Every American move today is conditioned by domestic politics. Mr. Truman's pathetic attempt to reassert some control over foreign policy, and at the same time to capture a fleeting patch of limelight, by sending Mr. Vinson on a dramatic mission to Moscow, sputtered out in pure farce. Mr. Marshall treated him even more contemptuously than Mr. Byrnes on an earlier occasion.

When the President, in 1946, without consulting his Secretary of State in Paris, approved the text of Mr. Wallace's foreign policy speech, Mr. Byrnes had Mr. Wallace dismissed. Mr. Marshall, since he could not dismiss the President, did the next best thing: he humiliated him publicly. This made no difference to Mr. Truman's own chances of reëlection, which were nil, but it probably puts paid to the last Democratic hope of winning a majority in the Senate. The Republican machine will now, in all probability, gain as overwhelming a victory, and for the same sort of fantastic program, as it did when it put the ill-fated Mr. Harding into power after the fall of Wilson.

Under the Republicans, the great American purge may be expected to begin in earnest. The last survivors of the Roosevelt era, hunted down by the Committee on Un-American Activities, will be chased out of their hiding places in the obscure corners of Washington. They will be replaced by men who can say, with their hands on their hearts, that they pin their faith on free enterprise and the American Century, and believe that Herbert Hoover was the last hundred percent American President. After so long a period in the wilderness, the Republican bosses will be unable to tolerate many concessions to merit by the President in his appointments to office.

The broom will sweep the State Department and the American Embassies throughout the world very clean. Not only Mr. Marshall, but his few liberal advisers, will go—including early New Dealers like Mr. Douglas and Mr. Harriman. In future we must expect to deal with personalities who have earned Mr. Dewey's patronage by political services.

With all this to come, it is idle to expect anything but verbal sparring during the coming weeks in Paris. The interval before the entry of Mr. Dewey can best be filled by thought and consultation on the part of Britain and her neighbors in Western Europe, both on the nature of the new American policy and on the response we should make to it. We must assume that there will be an end to the scruples which prevented Mr. Marshall, after a close study of China, from giving wholehearted support to Chiang Kai-shek, and to those hesitations which deterred Mr. Harriman from encouraging either General de Gaulle or General Franco.

The policy, gingerly attempted by the State Department during the last two years, of assisting the "non-Communist Centre," will probably be brushed aside by the business men, who will soon dominate American policy. Their aim is a straightforward anti-Communist crusade which relies on "strong men" and prefers them as far as possible to the Right. Germany, where the American way of life is now beginning to flourish among the ruins, will be preferred to a weak democratic France and to a Social-democratic Britain. Mr. Dewey is no Isolationist; but his brand of internationalism is aggressively American and coolly insensitive to the niceties of European politics. For his dollars we must expect that he will demand a return measured not in social reconstruction but in military strength.

At least there is one advantage. We shall know where we are. The contradictions and muddles of the Truman period will be done with, and it will be impossible to excuse indecision by doubts of America's intentions. In a few weeks' time, the United States will adopt the policy which Mr. Churchill preached at Llandudno. Judging by his public utterances, Mr. Bevin regards this policy as dangerous and unrealistic. He must prepare himself now for the struggle; and be ready, when the time comes, to present a clear-cut alternative in the name of Western Europe.

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FROM JUNK HEAP TO AIR MIGHT

Behind a curtain of secrecy, the Israelis have transformed a raggle-taggle airforce into an effective fighting weapon

by Lawrence Lader

ALTHOUGH ITS airfields stretch from Galilee in the north to the Negev in the south, the Israeli Air Force is still the most closely guarded secret of the war in Palestine. Before the July 17 truce, the average Israeli citizen may have seen the bombers and fighters on their way to attack Damascus, Amman and Cairo. During the present outbreak of fighting in the Negev, he may have seen them take off for their ceaseless "milk run" bombings of Gaza and Beersheba.

But he knows almost nothing about the strength of the squadrons or the damage they inflicted. And only the holders of the highest priority credentials ever get close enough to the airfields to recognize any of the new planes, which have joined the Air Force recently and make it powerful enough today to strike continually at the most distant Arab cities and still keep Arab bombers from hitting back at Tel Aviv or Haifa.

The outside world knows even less because the Air Force has clamped strict censorship on all press reports from Israel. As a result, the few stories released in Britain and the United States have not only been triumphs of inaccuracy, but as fantastic as a Hollywood cops-and-robbers chase.

In the London *Daily Express*, for instance, a correspondent named Sidney Smith painted a picture of a vast armada of Israeli bombers, based on airfields behind the Iron Curtain, which would take off from there to bomb Arab positions, stop at Israeli bases only to refuel, and then return to their Eastern starting points. A more recent story from England, carried by the United Press, featured a South African pilot, posing as a movie producer, who purchased four British Beaufighter planes under the pretense of featuring them in a film. He spent five days shooting location shots at Oxfordshire, rented equipment and cameras, and hired forty glamorous girls as extras to give the authentic touch. Then, when the scenes were finished, he and his assistants quietly stepped into the planes and flew them to Israel.

The true story of the development of the Israeli Air Force is amazing enough. On November 29, 1947, when the partition of Palestine was announced and the unofficial war began, the whole Air Force consisted of five small planes. Yet only eight months later it was strong enough to send four-engined heavy bombers, escorted by fighters, against three Arab capitals. Amman and Damascus were so taken by surprise that they were not even blacked out. Cairo had neither fighter opposition nor anti-aircraft fire. Pilots reported that they sat over their targets as long as they wanted. They emptied their bomb racks, and then began to toss bombs out of the windows. "The Gyppos were so stunned," one pilot said later, "that the radio operator at the airfield practically asked us to come down for a landing."

Between November 29 and the beginning of the second phase of the war on July 8, the Israeli Air Force faced serious obstacles to its growth. For months, while the British were still in Palestine, it had to operate in secret while the British were openly selling Spitfires to the Arabs. To go on a photo-reconnaissance mission, an Israel pilot had to pretend he was taking his plane on a pleasure trip. He had to use a small Leica, and smuggle it aboard in a loaf of bread. In the air, he could use the camera only by opening the plane door, tilting the plane on its side, and snapping his picture when he had obtained the necessary angle.

The first planes bought by the Air Force were 20 battered Austers. The British sold them almost as a joke because they were convinced they could never fly in combat. But Israeli engineers "pirated" parts for some of the planes and improvised others. Israeli pilots were more afraid of their own planes than they were of the Arabs, but for months the Austers remained the backbone of the Air Force. Not one of them has been shot down.

Pilots were scarce because during World War II, the British had purposefully kept Palestinians in subordinate, ground jobs. Ezer Weizmann, nephew of the President of Israel, had to start in the RAF as a truckdriver and wireless operator before he was allowed to enter flight training. Mordecai Alon, who today heads one of the fighter squadrons, spent years as an RAF ground crewman before he could get pilot training. But gradually the small nucleus of pilots from Palestine was joined by other pilots from Canada, South Africa, Britain and the United States.

Even such essential equipment as two-way radios was so rare that early in February, 1948, when Alon led a small group of Austers in an attempt to guide a convoy through the Arab blockade of Jerusalem, he had nothing but a walkie-talkie. He simply stuck it through the roof of his plane and talked back and forth with the convoy commander, warning him of Arab roadblocks or approaching tank columns.

When one Israeli convoy was trapped by fifty roadblocks, Alon spotted thousands of Arabs on the surrounding hills, ready to sweep down and cut it to pieces. "We had no real bombs," Alon said. "We just had a few six-inch pipes, stuffed with dynamite, that we had made ourselves. We had to hold them between our legs, and when we got over Arab concentration points on the hills, we'd tilt the planes on their sides and chuck the bombs over. The Austers had no guns on them either. So we just grabbed a

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few Bren guns and began to strafe. It was pretty risky. One pilot even shot away his own strut. But we were able to hold off the Arabs for two days until the Red Cross intervened and got the convoy out."

During February, the main Air Force supply job was in the south, where isolated Israeli settlements in the vast Negev were often completely cut off. In order to establish communication between the settlements, two Austers, with four pilots and three mechanics, were based at a makeshift field. Since they still had no radio communication, they would warn convoy commanders of Arab roadblocks by tying notes to bags of sand and dropping them near the head of the convoys.

Their other assignments were flying wounded back to the hospital in Tel Aviv, and guarding the pipeline, the only source of water for the southernmost settlements. The Arabs continually blew up the line or stole sections of it. One pilot, flying over Gaza, even spotted a piece of the pipe in a junk dealer's back yard. It had been stolen and then sold for scrap.

During the first few months pilots grabbed every opportunity to capture enemy planes. One of the best hauls was an Egyptian six-seater Fairchild, which was flying arms to the Palestinian Arabs and doing a side business in hashish on the way. All Israeli settlements had been warned to watch for it. When it finally had to make a forced landing, the nearest settlement phoned Air Force headquarters. Weizmann and another pilot flew down immediately. The Fairchild had been damaged in landing, yet mechanics at the settlement, who had never worked on a plane in their lives, managed to repair it, and Weizmann flew it back to Tel Aviv.

"It was bigger than any planes we had," Weizmann said, "and our troops naturally took me for a Gyppo and fired on me all along the way. But I got it down all right at a secret airfield. We managed to camouflage it and repaint it. The British never did find out what happened to the damn thing, including $40,000 worth of hashish which the pilot had hidden in the floor."

When the British left Palestine on May 15, strong Arab air forces began a ceaseless bombardment of Tel Aviv. The task of interception would have been almost impossible for the Israeli Air Force even with more fighter planes, because there was still no radar net. Air Force headquarters decided that the only alternative was to strike back at the Arabs, no matter how feebly.

The first real opportunity was at Tulkarm when twenty-four Arab armored cars were discovered moving on Nathanya, a seaside city north of Tel Aviv. Weizmann and another pilot took off just as the sun rose. Flying in from the hills with the sun behind them, they caught the column by surprise, getting off two sticks of bombs and strafing them four times. The column dispersed in confusion and the attack was prevented.

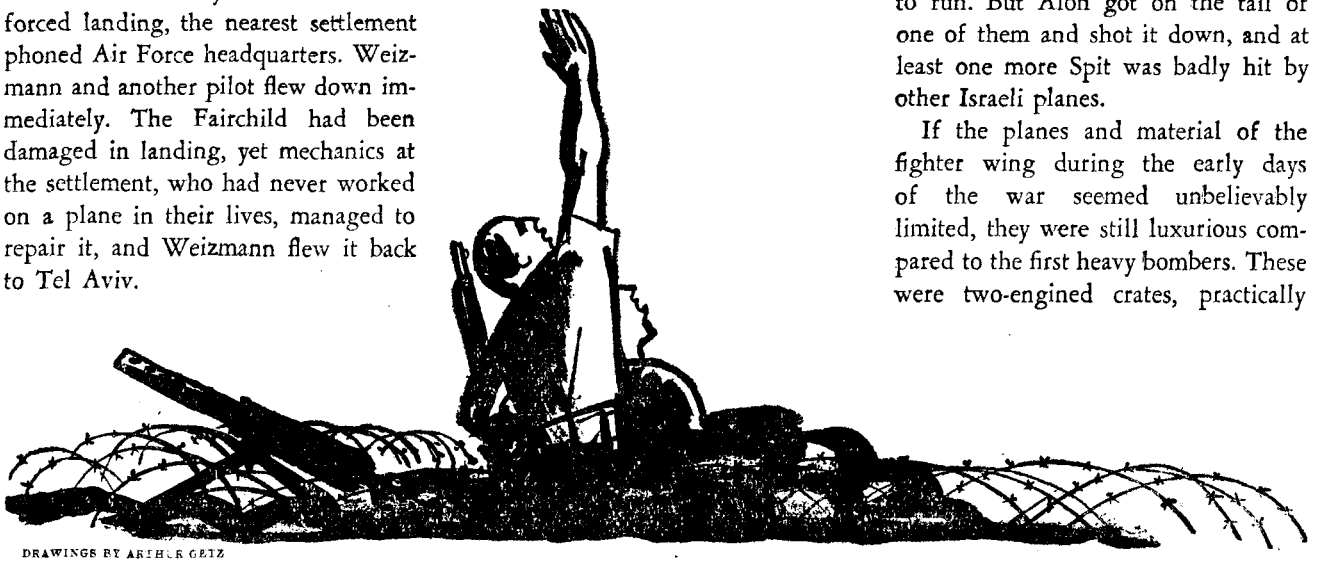
Then at Isdud, Israeli planes caught hundreds of Egyptian trucks, almost bumper to bumper, and bombed them until the column was a mass of flames.

Later that night, when reconnaissance planes flew over the spot, the trucks were still burning.

Soon after May 15, Mordecai Alon became commander of one of the fighter wings and made himself the first Israeli ace by shooting down three planes. Patrolling south of Tel Aviv one day, he spotted two Arab bombers, escorted by Spitfires, headed for Tel Aviv. He caught up with the first one just after it had released its load and shot it down over the beach south of Tel Aviv. One of the Spits came after him, but when he turned into the sun to get on its tail, it disappeared. The second Arab bomber jettisoned its bombs and started to run, but Alon caught it and shot it down over Richon-Le-Zion, the famous wine-producing town southeast of Tel Aviv. Appropriately enough, when he got back to his hotel later, his room was full of bottles of wine.

Alon got his third plane during the second phase of the war, in July. He was leading a flight of dive-bombers southeast of Gaza when they caught four Spitfires near Beer Tuvia. The Spits jettisoned their bombs and tried to run. But Alon got on the tail of one of them and shot it down, and at least one more Spit was badly hit by other Israeli planes.

If the planes and material of the fighter wing during the early days of the war seemed unbelievably limited, they were still luxurious compared to the first heavy bombers. These were two-engined crates, practically



DRAWINGS BY ARTHUR GETZ

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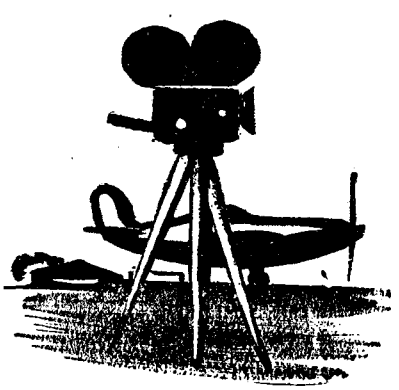
held together with wire and tape. They were so undependable that the pilots could only take them up before dawn, perform their missions and return to their bases before Arab fighters went up on patrol.

They had neither bomb racks nor bomb sights. The bombardier simply piled a row of bombs at his feet. When the plane reached the target, he pulled out the pin, leaned over the side to aim, and tossed the bomb over. Once, a bomb stuck on the wing, and for two or three frantic minutes the pilot had to roll the plane from side to side until he shook it loose.

Not till July 10 did the Israeli Air Force get four-engined, heavy bombers with bomb racks, bomb sights and heavy machine guns. Only then did the experience of its former RAF, Canadian, South African, British and American pilots begin to pay off. Most of them had made impressive records in World War II. One ace, a South African with 210 missions to his credit, added 40 more in Palestine.

During the last few days before July 18, these veterans used their new four-motored bombers in an all-out assault on enemy capitals that gave the Arabs their worst scare of the war. It started with the attack on Damascus. The Israeli heavy-bomber wing took off in daylight for the first time and, flying in full formation, caught a large group of Arab fighters on the ground at the Damascus airfield. The Arabs were so nonplussed that they refused even to come up and fight, and most of the planes were either demolished or damaged.

The attack on El Arish and Majdal marked another step forward. For the first time, Israeli heavy bombers were escorted by fighter planes. The bombers reached El Arish at dawn, caught a large group of fighters on the ground, not even dispersed, and plastered them and the airfield's installations almost at will.



Even more important, this operation brought the beginning of Israeli shuttle bombing. The planes that had hit El Arish came back, refueled, and went on to plaster Majdal, while the squadrons that had been at Majdal returned to refuel and take another crack at El Arish. "We kept this shuttle going on both the northern and southern fronts," said one Air Force official. "Then, during the last few days, we started a third shuttle on the central front for good measure."

Just before the second truce, bomber crews often flew as many as four or five missions a day.

The secrecy that has marked all operations of the fighter and bomber wings of the Israeli Air Force is even topped by a third branch, the Transport Command. It has never been mentioned in any official communiqué. It operates from its own airfields and is practically an independent unit whose pilots wander around the world in an aura of freebooting, cloak-and-dagger mystery.

The only really concrete proofs that the Transport Command exists are occasional newspaper items, which come from points as scattered as London, Rome, Prague and New York. Readers of the New York *Times* a few months back, for instance, may have noticed the announcement that two aces of World War II, Leonard Cohen of the RAF and George "Buzz" Burley of the Canadian Air Force, who was awarded the DSO, DFC, and DFM with bar, were killed over Italy when their plane exploded in midair. The article hinted that the plane was on its way to Palestine.

Another item, from the New York *Star* of July 14, stated that three Lockheed Constellations in Rome and Millville, New Jersey, had just been seized by Italian and American authorities on the suspicion that they were bound for Israel. More recently, British newspapers reported that 40 planes, including 12 fighters, five transports, and Halifax bombers, had disappeared from Britain without export licenses and were believed to be on their way to the Middle East. The *Daily Mail* said that the theory, being investigated by Scotland Yard, was that the planes were flown to an airport near Prague, where they were loaded with a wide variety of weapons from arms dumps on Czech territory, before taking off for Israel.

The first official recognition that such an airfield even existed came a few weeks ago when the US State Department put strong pressure on the Czech government to shut the field to Israeli planes and to help the Department locate three American pilots who supposedly were landing and taking off from the field.

The ATC is the lifeline of Israel. Long before the partition of November 29, the Arabs were well-supplied by the British, not only with planes for their airforces, but with guns, tanks, rifles and ammunition for their armies. Even in their withdrawal from Palestine between November 29 and May 15, the British managed to turn over to the Arabs an uncalculated amount of armaments from their local stockpiles.

But the Jewish supply situation was desperate. As late as the end of May, for instance, its crack 3rd Palmach Battalion had only about 200 rifles for its 600 men. This situation was paralleled throughout the Army and the Air Force. Because of the British blockade in the Mediterranean, it was almost impossible for Israel to get arms by water. Because of the US ban on arms exports, it was also cut off from its principal source of supply. The ATC, therefore, became the instrument on which Israel's survival depended.

The growth of the ATC is an epic of informality. "It happened just like Topsy," one American member explained. "We just drifted together in one way or another. In my case, it was during an all-night poker game in New York. Some time in the early hours of the morning, one of the guys

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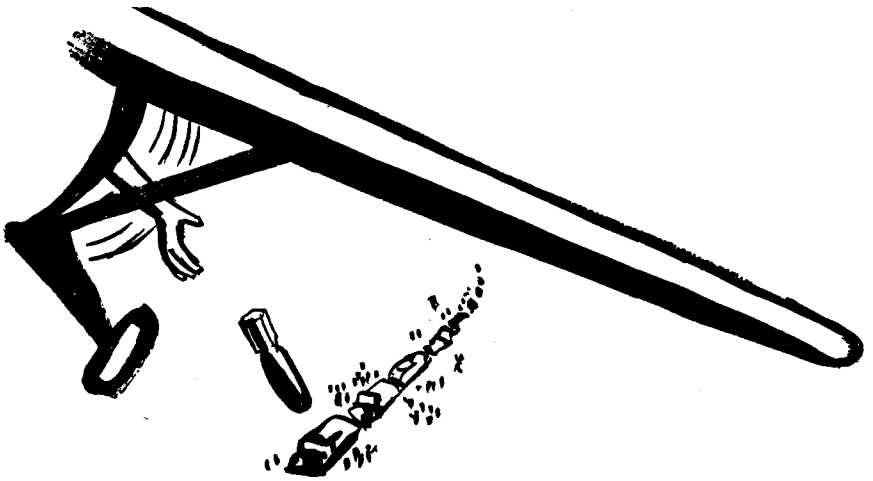

said he was leaving for Palestine in a few days. We started talking about it. We talked about it the rest of the night, and the next morning all of us decided to go along with him."

The ATC was a word-of-mouth organization. One flier told another about it. In South Africa, in England, in Canada and the United States, little units formed and expanded, and eventually arrived and organized together in Israel. Even there, the informality of the ATC has never been lost. Its members look on themselves as civilians. They have no contracts, and they can pick up and leave whenever they want. They never do. Somehow, in a few short months, they have flown in enough planes and arms to turn the Israeli Air Force and Army from a desperate, raggle-taggle unit into well-supplied, efficient fighting machines.

Perhaps the biggest misconception that surrounds the ATC, and the whole Israeli Air Force, is the make-up of its personnel. Sidney Smith, for instance, in his article in the London *Daily Express*, wrote that 90 percent of all fighter and bomber pilots come from the United States. This is a gross exaggeration. A far more accurate figure would be 25 percent. Officially, the Air Force, which is inclined to play down the number of nationals from overseas, sets the figure at 10 percent.

More and more, in fact, the chief supply of Air Force personnel has shifted to South Africa. This is not only the result of a strong recruiting campaign carried on by Jewish organizations there. South Africa has made it far easier for recruits to come to Israel than other nations like the United States and Britain, which have put severe obstacles, such as the possible loss of citizenship, in their way.

Another important personnel factor is the number of non-Jews in the Air Force, particularly among the Americans. Sidney Smith and other reporters have tried to misinterpret the significance of this by exaggerating the salaries paid to fliers from overseas. Air-crew members, Smith stated, receive about $475 a month, first-class technicians about $800. Actually, except for a few rare exceptions, most fliers get about $80 a month, and if they have wives and children, an additional allowance is made for their support.

Although it cannot be claimed that many non-Jews joined the Air Force because they were ardent Zionists, they have often become devout supporters of the new state. An outstanding example is a young Chicago flier, Spenser Boyd. When he arrived in Palestine, he knew nothing about the country. Within a few weeks, however, he had become completely sold on Zionism. He began to volunteer for the most dangerous missions, became one of the hardest-working members of the Air Force, and insisted on flying more missions than his quota.

Just before the second truce, he flew an important supply plane to Sdom, an isolated Israeli settlement near the Dead Sea, and was returning with seven passengers when his plane developed engine trouble and was forced down in the desert. Three of the party, armed with Boyd's pistol, set off for the Israeli lines. Boyd and the other four members were soon captured by an Arab band and shot to death. Their bodies were gored and cut to pieces. When Boyd's Air Force comrades brought his remains back to Tel Aviv for the funeral, the Israeli as well as the American flag was draped over his coffin.

Logically enough, the top command of the Air Force is in the hands of Palestinian-born Israelis. The Air Officer, Commanding, is David Ramez, a quiet, good-humored, former RAF ferry pilot of 32, whose father is Minister of Communications. Ramez entered the Air Force soon after November 29, 1947, but has only headed it since July. He lives at Kfar Giliadi, an agricultural coöperative, where his experience in working with people in the daily life of the settlement has made him a highly efficient commander.

Two other top-ranking Air Force officers are also Palestinian-born. Ray Imberg, a former RAF pilot who flew dozens of missions in the attempt to relieve Kfar Etzion before it was wiped out by the Arabs, today commands one of the bomber wings. Dan Tolkowsky, also an ex-officer in the RAF, now heads one of the operations branches.

The Israeli Air Force is fully aware that if it is called upon to defend the boundaries of the nation again in the future, it may have to depend completely on its native-born pilots and bombardiers rather than on volunteers from overseas. A vigorous air-training program, therefore, has recently been initiated.

Israeli youth, who have been indoctrinated in aviation by hundreds of flying clubs scattered through the country, are being urged to enlist as cadets in the Air Force. Typical of these future pilots, whom I met at one large air base, is Ulick Arlassaroff, a boy of 17 whose father had been a prominent labor leader before his mysterious assassination in 1936. Ulick grew up at Ginegar, a coöperative settlement, and

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for years belonged to one of the flying clubs.

Classes of girls are also being trained as control-tower operators, radio and radar operators. The average age of the girls is higher than the boys. Ora Bet Ami, for instance, who is studying to be a control-tower operator, is 22. Before the war, she had been a student of physics for two years at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Now she has put aside all personal plans until the war is won.

The immediate future of the Israel Air Force, however, is no longer a problem of personnel and training. The real problem is international. To be able to defend itself in the present Negev fighting, and particularly to maintain the air-supply line to distant Negev, it needs new planes, new armaments.

Where will they come from? Certainly not from Britain, nor from the United States, which has refused to lift its embargo. Israel, therefore, will be forced to turn again to the East, to Czechoslovakia and Russia. This is not a policy of choice. Time and time again, Foreign Minister Moshe Shertok has stated that Israel wants the equal friendship of both the East and the West. But if only the East will give her help, then she must turn to the East for survival.

The irony of the situation was pointed up recently by the State Department, which demanded that Czechoslovakia close her airfield outside Prague from which Israel pilots were flying in arms and supplies. This would have cut off Israel's chief lifeline. The effect would have been catastrophic. Czechoslovakia turned down the State Department's request. The contrast did not win friends for America in her ideological struggle against Eastern Europe.

RUSSIA AND THE LIBERALS

Confused US progressives can find their future in opposing both capitalist imperialism and the incipient socialist variety

by Lewis S. Feuer

THE PROBLEM of American progressives in the era of the Soviet revolution inevitably recalls that which confronted English liberals in the age of the French Revolution.

When the French Revolution inundated Europe with a wave of national and democratic movements, it did not carry with it an upsurge of liberalism in England. As Trevelyan describes it, a "reactionary passion" swept the upper and middle classes, and even most of the workmen. Anti-Jacobinism became synonymous with patriotism. The workmen's Corresponding Societies were prosecuted, and the Combination Acts were passed making trade unions illegal. Freedom of speech was abrogated.

France, in turn, was pushed toward militarism by the refusal of England to adopt Charles James Fox's policy of discriminating friendship toward the French Revolution. To suppress the revolution, Britain accepted a union with the worst reactionary forces in Europe, the absolutist feudal monarchies. A "metaphysical war," as it was called, between the ideas of Rousseau and Burke began, and it was to last for twenty years. During that time, the voice of English liberalism was feeble and defensive. Reform was shelved, while security against the French Revolution was the dominant policy.

For Jacobinism substitute communism, for Combination Acts, the Taft-Hartley law, use "ideology" instead of "metaphysics," and governments like those of Kuomintang China and royalist Greece instead of the eighteenth-century monarchies, and you will be describing the political scene in twentieth-century America as it subordinates all to its conflict with the Soviet Union.

The impact of the Soviet advance has been to place American progressives in the same almost impotent position as English liberals in the epoch of Revolutionary France. In the thirties, a host of thinkers, economists, political scientists, philosophers and novelists criticized the existing order. Social analysis reached a level in American thought never before attained, and its influence was never greater. But during the years that followed, one aspect after another of Soviet domestic and foreign policy led to the estrangement of these men. At the same time, the American capitalist system was showing a vitality which made theoretic criticism seem picayune. The aftermath of the war, moreover, has seen no extensive unemployment among the intellectual class. Most of the liberal thinkers, some of whom still call themselves socialists, for all practical purposes have made their peace with the status quo. The criticism of socialism in the Soviet Union has become their preoccupation, and the daring contributors to revolutionary magazines are the respected authorities in the New York *Times* Sunday magazine. American progressivism seems to be closing up shop.

Certainly it is clear that the division over Soviet society has deprived the American progressive movement of much of its self-confidence. Those who desired to help the Soviet economy to grow and overcome its weaknesses, those who recognized that for good or evil the socialist revolution had taken place first in a backward country

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with absolutist traditions, were, in the momentum of debate, driven to unconvincing positions. The "defender of the Soviet Union" found himself propelled to endorse the suppression of freedom of science and civil liberties. The devious rationalizations, which his mind invented only made it harder for the progressive movement to get a hearing from the American people. The formulae of ideology had become too top-heavy to make political sense.

Shall American progressivism during this present period then simply resign itself to impotence? To do so would be to give a free rein to the powerful, almost violent, capitalist counter-revolution which is now under way. The social reforms of the Roosevelt era are being undermined. Beneath the political reaction is the underlying economic reality of the strengthening of monopoly capitalism during the war.

The report of the official Smaller War Plants Corporation, "Economic Concentration and World War II," has documented that story. "The relative importance of big business, particularly the giant corporations, increased sharply during the war, while the position of small business declined." The Federal Trade Commission reports a merger movement since 1940 which has brought the 200 largest manufacturing corporations to an unprecedented dominance in our economic life. Corporate incomes as well as the index of industrial production reached their highest figures during the first six months of 1948. American progressivism seems engulfed by the high tide of capitalist revival.

The American capitalist counter-revolution also goes against what is the great political fact of our time—the movement throughout Europe and Asia toward the Left and socialism. Only in the United States has the war strengthened capitalism—another example of what Lenin called its uneven development. But instead of recognizing its own unique situation, American foreign policy misreads world developments as being an abnormal and temporary departure from free enterprise, and seeks to frustrate and undo the worldwide social revolution. Neither of our major political parties has recognized the basic reality of the world swing to the Left, and both have failed to realize that communism is but one manifestation of a profound socio-economic need. Unless we bear in mind the intense aspiration of the world's peoples toward a new society, we shall bungle when we deal with the problem of American communism.

Many of us have known Communists, known them as sincere, self-sacrificing workers whose lives were inspired by the hope of socialism. Perhaps the logic of involvement which Soviet thinkers practise would classify these persons as mere Soviet agents, but it would be tragic and stupid for us to commit ourselves to this logic. It is well to remember that during the days of unemployment in the early thirties, when the economic crisis was making "dark philosophers" of men, the Communists, not the witch-hunters, labored for the people's welfare.

At the same time, it is clear that a Russian hegemony now obtains over the communist parties. We need no informers' stories to underline this fact.

The recent statement by a Cominform representative is proof enough: "In the Russian Bolshevist party the Communist and the workers in all the world recognize with full confidence the directing force of the world-wide socialist movement. . . . It is therefore natural that the Bolshevist party, as the leader of the international Communist movement of the democratic front, has all the right, indeed the duty . . . to urge the elimination of the defects and errors perpetrated by each Communist party in its own country in regard to the fight against imperialism."

The Russian Bolshevist party thus claims to direct all the communist parties of the world. This is not internationalism, though such phraseology is used to cloak Soviet hegemony. If there were internationalism among the communist parties, then communist American, English and French scientists would be able to speak out and denounce the Russian Communist Central Committee which has decreed that Mendelian genetics is "anti-scientific." But a man like J. B. S. Haldane, who thinks that the whole Russian attack on mathematical genetics is unfounded, now keeps his silence; his views get no publicity in Russia, and he cannot, or at least does not, protest the purge among Soviet scientists. Only the Russian communist party is allowed to criticize; all others are second-class Marxists.

The Russian pretension to ascendancy in the socialist world reminds one of a famous chapter in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall.* Gibbon describes how several centers—Rome, Antioch, Alexandria—competed for supremacy in the Christian world. There is no doubt that the leading Soviet group now wishes to establish Russia as the great center of world socialism. Consequently, it wants no rival formations—no Balkan or Asian federation, nothing which can tend to offset Soviet supremacy. Thus preëminent, the Russian center of Sovietism could then claim to set others aright on all questions, economic, political, intellectual and moral.

It was Harold Laski who put before us vividly the analogy between the rise of Christianity and the spread of the Soviet idea, and it is now a commonplace that the communist spirit has an element of the religious impulse. The religious spirit, however, can develop in two possible directions. It can manifest itself in such forms as the democratic Protestant sects of the seventeenth century, or it can be congealed into the rigid forms of authoritarian control by a medieval hierarchy. The communist energies of the twentieth century can likewise take either of these directions.

What America does during the next years will determine what channels world socialism will take. A "get tough with Russia" policy helps create its mirror image in the Soviet Union, a "get tough with America" policy. A progressive American pol-

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icy, without apologizing for what is wrong in Russian policy, must seek to reduce the international tensions upon which authoritarian control feeds.

At the July convention of the Progressive Party in Philadelphia, a resolution which aimed to dissociate the party from any blanket endorsement of Soviet foreign policy was voted down. Progressives were urged to confine their thinking to the policies of their own government. But this is a wholly unsound view. The fact is that American progressivism requires some working hypothesis concerning the meaning of Soviet society. A man like Henry Wallace, who pursues experiments on hybrid corn with the aid of genetic principles, quite possibly might be condemned in Russia as a reactionary.

This aspect of the new Soviet society is repugnant to American progressivism, and its pattern must be separated completely from the plans for the American society which he would build. American progressives took a stand on the meaning of Nazi Germany because the Nazi dynamic involved war and oppression. To clarify its stand before the American people, progressivism must face the question whether the Soviet Union represents a new type of imperialism in the making, a socialist imperialism.

There was a time when progressives took it for granted that imperialism could not issue from a socialist basis. Imperialism was held to be tied inextricably to the pursuit of capitalist profit. But experience overrules theory. A socialist imperialism *is* possible, one founded not on private profit but on such devices as an enforced inequality in the terms of trade between the exploiting and exploited country. If the terms of trade, by one means or another, are always maintained against a given country, if it is compelled to export cheaply and import dearly, an economic relationship of exploitation is defined which may be operative even when both countries are socialist.

Whether such a tendency will become dominant in the Soviet economy cannot be decided in any *a priori* fashion. Nor can the problem be solved through verbalistic sleight of hand. Communists argue that a socialist society cannot possibly be imperialist, since, by definition, imperialism depends on the quest for capitalistic profit. But the word "imperialism" can encompass a new form—or, if necessary, another word could be used to denote the socialist mode of exploitation. Realities, in either case, are not determined by the choice of words.

American progressivism can develop a constructive, anti-imperialist policy and at the same time make it clear that it rejects the pattern of Soviet society as the guide for our political thinking.

Progressives are being much impressed by the papers of Harry Hopkins, with their insights concerning the Soviet pattern of thought. Hopkins tells how he found that the Soviet leaders had no conception of respect for public opinion. To them, the public mind was like a *tabula rasa* on which the ministry of propaganda could inscribe its ideas. Vishinsky urged that "the American people should learn to obey their leaders," and Stalin claimed to speak, not for the Soviet peoples, but for the "governing circles." People thus come to be the raw material, more or less pliable to propagandist molding. But it is this philosophy which finally alienates the people from communist leaders. When Stalin declared in 1941 that it was Franklin D. Roosevelt who had become throughout the world the symbol of men's aspirations, he was tacitly confessing that the communist leadership had misused and lost men's primary loyalties.

Whether Soviet socialism does fully take the path of imperialist development will depend, in large measure, on the strength of American progressivism. What American progressivism must do is to look for solutions to problems which cut the ground from under both capitalist imperialism and the incipient socialist variety.

The problem of international exploitation cannot be solved so long as its terms are a conflict between rival economic interests. There is a way of undercutting this framework of irreconcilables. If a United Nations Development Company were set up to administer, for instance, the oil resources of backward areas, then we would be on the path to a non-imperialist solution of the impasse. Such a company was one of our wartime hopes. It could make raw materials accessible to all nations on equal terms, and its profits might well be used in world health and social services. The United Nations, as an agency in solving the problem of imperialism, would ease the very tensions which accentuate the development of imperialist tendencies.

The recognition of the shortcomings of Soviet society does not justify any anti-Soviet campaign. Such responses only aggravate the manifestations of Soviet fear, which American foreign policy should instead aim to reduce. We know the deep problems which socialism brings, the abuses which it can harbor. But likewise, we shall not solve problems by reacting with equal and opposite violence into attitudes of complete disillusionment and pessimism.

Political responses in a tired social world oscillate wildly between irrational extremes, and the effort for historical rationality must be sustained. Social realities, undistorted through ideological perspective, make it evident that a society can be progressive in some ways, retrogressive in others. There is no all-or-none law for political science.

As progressives, we reject the naïve economic determinism which prevails in the Soviet Union and among its disciples. We acknowledge that the Soviet economy is socialist, but we deny that the advent of socialist economy justifies the suppression of civil liberties, free science, and the bureaucratic control of the arts. In short, during the years of crisis, American progressivism must draw upon the resources of its own will to clarity. Then, as reaction inevitably abates, we can proceed once more to the long task of building a healthy world order.

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EUROPE TAKES HOPE FROM ECA

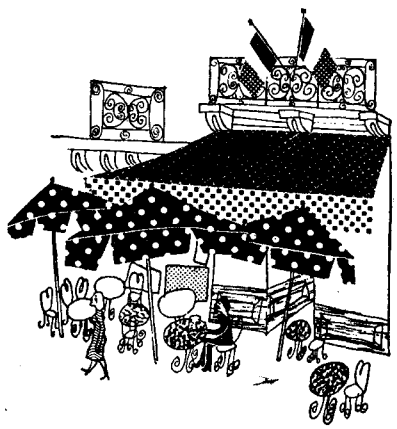
But moral and political obstacles still block the path to recovery on a continent worn by war and ideological strife

by Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

THE UNITED STATES today is engaged in the most staggering and portentous experiment in the entire history of our foreign policy—a fact apparently unknown to a large proportion of the American people, including a large proportion of American liberals. The object of this experiment is nothing less than the refashioning of the ways of production and exchange in Western Europe; and the result, if the experiment succeeds, will be the creation of a new Western Europe, politically and economically unified, productive and independent.

The American instrumentality in this extraordinary experient is, of course, ECA—the Economic Coöperation Administration.

ECA differs basically from the previous devices by which the US has subsidized Europe since World War I. The loans and plans of the twenties, the gold purchases of the thirties and the lend-lease of the early forties were not designed to produce fundamental changes in the European economy. They enabled the continent to keep its head above water, but brought it no nearer to dry land. The Marshall Plan aims at a solution; it hopes to relieve the problem of chronic European dollar deficits by bringing about a massive general increase in European productivity—an increase to be stimulated in great degree by a program of unprecedented coöperation on the part of the participating nations. The hope is that, by 1952, European productivity can be raised to such a high level that



the "exceptional" US aid, which has been necessary in one form or another for a quarter of a century, can come to an end.

Clearly an enterprise of these proportions is only in part economic and technical. The things that must be done to raise European production are obvious: fiscal stability, capital reconstruction, careful economy in the use of available resources, improvement in productive methods, increase in exports and especially in intra-European trade. The real question is how to get these things done. The main bottlenecks to European recovery are thus not so much economic as moral and political. The problem confronting the administrators of ERP is how to summon the resources of self-help and initiative which still exist even in the battered and weary continent of Europe. A Western European will-to-recovery is necessary—a-will-to-recovery which will be powerful enough to meet the production targets and determined enough to resist the incessant Communist campaign of obstruction and sabotage.

The present ECA leadership in Europe is working at this problem with admirable understanding and considerable success. It is hard to imagine a better appointment for the job of US Special Representative in Europe than Averell Harriman. Harriman has a compelling vision of the possibility of what he calls the "revitalization" of Europe through ERP. To this he adds a contagious faith in the capacity of the free peoples of Europe to rise to the challenge of recovery.

Experience as ambassador both to Moscow and London has given him a vivid sense of the difference between totalitarian communism and democratic socialism. He played an important part in Washington in directing US policy toward the support in Europe of the Center and the non-Communist Left; and he has communicated to ECA his profound belief that the Socialist Parties and trade unions of Europe have a crucial role in the struggle for recovery. The strengthening of the free trade unions in particular has engaged a good deal of his time and attention. Harriman has to an unusual degree the confidence of labor representatives, both in ECA and in the Western European labor movement.

Harriman's ECA staff is generally competent and alert. It contains men of first-rate ability like William C. Foster, former Undersecretary of Commerce; Milton Katz of the Harvard Law School; Boris Shishkin of the AFL; Harry Martin, president of the American Newspaper Guild; and Alfred Friendly of the Washington *Post*. In addition to the ECA headquarters in Paris, there are now ECA missions in most of the participating countries. Congress made it fairly clear that only businessmen should be selected as mission chiefs, and the appointments vary in quality, ranging from exceptionally qualified men, like David Bruce in Paris and Thomas K. Finletter in London, to conspicuously weak appointments in some other cities.

The first big move in ECA's attempt to restore the initiative to the European countries was the decision to throw the job of dividing the first year's ERP appropriations to the Organization for European Economic Coöperation. OEEC is the combined agency of the participating nations, located in Paris, and headed by Robert

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Arthur Schlesinger Jr., of the Department of History, Harvard University, is best known for his highly popular The Age of Jackson. *He recently returned from some months on the staff of the Economic Cooperation Administration in Paris, where he was consultant on informational and political questions. The opinions expressed in this article are of course his own and do not reflect the views of any ECA official.*

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Marjolin, a brilliant young French economist.

A great many Europeans joined with some Americans in opposing the decision to give such responsibility to OEEC. It was argued powerfully that a unilateral American allocation of the aid would do the job much more quickly and just as efficiently, without saddling each European government with the political embarrassment of explaining to its own people why it did not come off with a larger share. But Harriman felt that effective economic coöperation could only come out of the exercise of working together; OEEC would not be able to grow into a central agency for a free Europe unless it was given something to do.

OEEC consequently got the job of cutting the pie. Statistics poured in on Paris through the summer, as each country sent in detailed data on its aid requirements and economic plans for 1948-49. OEEC's task was to screen the data, then to fit the separate national programs into one European program, then to compute how much the nations could help each other through the intra-European payments scheme, then to whittle down the final European program to the size of the available American aid.

The job was not completed without discord and acrimony; and the arguments, of course, received much more press attention than the agreements. It would surely have been utopian to expect each of the 19 hungry members of OEEC to be satisfied with his own meager slice of pie. Yet some newspapermen seem to have expected utopia; and the OEEC wrangles led them to write stories suggesting that the whole structure of European recovery was about to collapse. One shudders to think how they would have covered the debates in the First Congress of the American Republic.

The actual OEEC agreement on the 1948-49 allocations was an astonishing achievement—perhaps the most remarkable example of international economic coöperation in the history of the world. The fact that it was an agreement perhaps condemned it to the back pages of the American newspapers. But American liberals might have been expected to make something out of so fundamental a step in international collaboration. European Socialists, being more easily satisfied than American liberals, had a clearer idea of the significance of the decision.

"For the first time," observed *Le Populaire,* the Socialist daily in Paris, "European countries have succeeded in reaching an agreement on economic principles in spite of the complicated interests which oppose such an agreement. These results have been achieved through the efforts of America, who offered aid to Europe on the condition that Europe would make an effort to help itself. Europe's first steps in the direction of economic coöperation have been slow and unsteady. But the child must learn how to walk soon if he is to make his own way when American aid has been withdrawn."

OEEC today is working on the second annual program, covering anticipated needs for 1949-50, and on the long-term four-year plan. European commentators have had great fun with the paradox of free-enterprise America imposing planning on Europe. This is no joke in OEEC circles, where the economists are working day and night to ready economic plans for submission to ECA by the middle of November. These programs, after screening and modification by ECA, will serve to cut the teeth of the 81st Congress when it convenes in January.

OEEC is not yet as strong an agency as Harriman would like. ECA/Paris believes that it will have to be jacked up to the ministerial level before its recommendations can have the force with member governments that Harriman's own, for example, have in Washington. An OEEC presided over by Henri Spaak, with delegations headed by men of the caliber of Hector McNeil, would move much faster toward the economic integration of Europe than the present OEEC, headed by civil servants and operating on a technical rather than a political level.

The creation of OEEC as a central agency for the European economy is one of the great accomplishments of the Marshall Plan. What have been other aspects of ERP's impact upon Europe—particularly the impact of the provisions which have aroused misgivings in liberal circles in this country?

1. *The counterpart funds.* Each country receiving goods under ERP in the form of grants (as distinct from loans) must set aside in a special deposit the money realized from the sale of these goods. This local currency deposit—a device employed both in UNRRA and in the interim-aid program—is known as the counterpart fund. The fund, according to the Foreign Assistance Act, is to be used by joint agreement of the US and the foreign government "for purposes of internal monetary and financial stabilization, for the stimulation of productive activity and the exploration for and development of new sources of wealth, or for such other expenditures as may be consistent with the purposes of this title."

So far, the counterpart funds ($1.3 billion) have not accumulated to the extent where their disposition presents a serious problem. Eventually, these funds will produce many headaches; in Greece, for example, the local currency deposit will probably be almost as large as Greece's total currency. At this stage, however, with inflation the acute economic problem in Europe, the prevailing tendency is simply to withhold the funds and use them to retire the national debt (as in Britain) rather than risk intensifying inflationary pressures.

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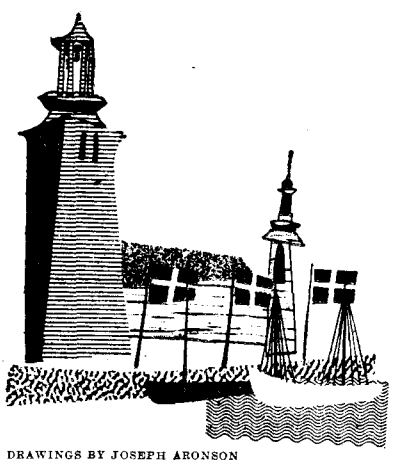
One exception to this policy is Italy. Using $90.4 million funds derived in part from the unexpended UNRRA and interim-aid counterpart, the Italian government has restored its smashed railroad system almost to its prewar efficiency; it has initiated programs of land reclamation, irrigation and road improvement; it has refitted part of its merchant marine. If the current unemployment in Italy becomes a serious problem, the counterpart fund will undoubtedly be used to set up a work-relief program on the WPA model. Other nations, as their funds accumulate, will undoubtedly undertake similar programs of reconstruction.

2. *US intervention through use of counterpart.* Plainly the US veto over the use of counterpart places in American hands a powerful means of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. It should be clearly understood, however, that such "interference" is inevitable: the refusal to release funds may be just as potent a weapon as the release of the funds. The question is one, not of avoiding "interference," but of deciding what political ends we hope to achieve by our counterpart policy. Up to this point, there have been no complaints from the Center or the non-Communist Left in Western Europe. The great instance of US employment of counterpart with inescapable political implications was the recent decision to release approximately $310 million to the Queuille government. Like any counterpart decision, this action was justified by ECA purely on economic grounds. But, in hard fact, the action was obviously part of the general US policy of staving off de Gaullism.

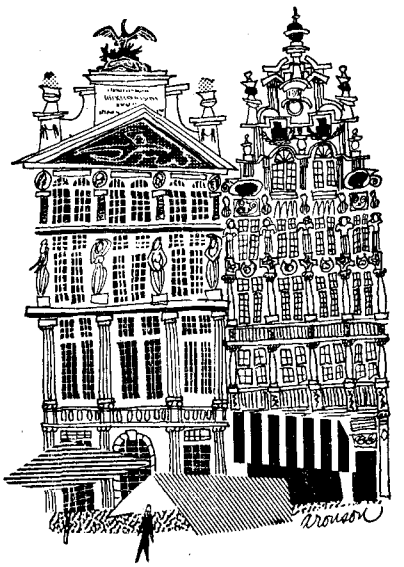


DRAWINGS BY JOSEPH ARONSON

3. *Strategic materials.* The Foreign Assistance Act provides that the US can compensate for the drain on its own natural resources by negotiating for the delivery and stockpiling of strategic materials from each participating country "after due regard for reasonable requirements for domestic use and commercial export of such country." Some liberals opposed this provision in the law, though on the whole it seems to me a natural and sensible requirement, if administered properly. Unfortunately the first strategic-materials mission left Washington in a blaze of publicity which invited Communist counterattacks everywhere in Europe; and its own performance abroad hardly relieved the misgivings of the participating countries. Ideally, the strategic-materials provision is an admirable means of using counterpart funds for the development of new sources of raw materials; and in the long run it will probably work out in that direction. There is no indication yet that the US is demanding strategic materials at the expense of the national recovery program of any country.

4. *Loans v. grants.* Of the $2.6 billion allotted by September 30, only slightly more than $500 million was in the form of grants. This is about the proportion of loans to grants anticipated in the total disbursement of the first year's appropriations. Certain countries—Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal, Ireland, Iceland, Turkey—are receiving no grants. Others, such as Belgium-Luxembourg and Norway, receive only small ones. The question whether the loans to these and other countries can be repaid depends basically on US tariff policy. Only if we accept a much greater proportion of imports will we be able to find these debts any more collectible than the famous debts of the twenties.

5. *East-West trade.* This vitally important topic remains a political co-



nundrum. No group is more anxious than the Marshall Planners to relieve the burden on the American taxpayer and to supplement the limited American aid by bringing in coal, grain and timber from Eastern Europe. But, given the international crisis, no one wants to send tanks or jet planes in exchange. It is a complicated matter of detailed negotiation, of which it can only be said that the negotiation seems to be in able and responsible hands.

As yet, the Marshall Plan has failed to rouse the misgivings on these points anticipated by its critics. Indeed, it is still true to say that ERP's only opponents in Europe are the Communists—and, in the parentheses of private conversation, not even all the Communists. Far from weakening Europe's sense of independence, the most obvious achievement of ERP has been its success in healing the European failure of nerve. It has brought to life, not only the will-to-recovery, but the will-to-resist—without which, given the Soviet offensive against Europe, recovery would be impossible.

Two years ago many Europeans regarded the contest between the USA and the USSR as a conflict of imperialism in which European democracy had no particular stake, except that of preventing war at almost any cost. The Marshall Plan has played a crucial role in puncturing the fantasy of European neutrality. As the first major expression of a positive US

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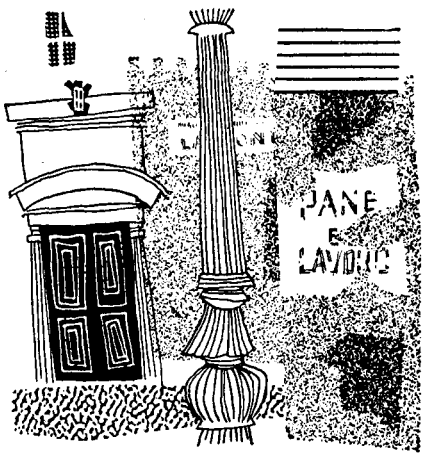

policy in Europe since the war, it has done much to build up confidence in the fundamental sanity of American intentions. The US seems much less the wicked imperialist of the Soviet radio and much more a nation of good will, often ignorant and blundering, but acting, on the whole, for decent reasons toward decent ends. At the same time, the Plan, with its vision of a unified and productive Europe, has opened new vistas of hope for the progressive European.

Just as the Marshall Plan raised the American stock in Europe, so the Soviet response to the Marshall Plan lowered the Russian stock. The Zhdanov program of tightening the reins in Eastern Europe completed the job of destroying the notion that Europe had as much to fear from the USA as from the USSR. The Socialists and trade unionists of Western Europe had too many comrades to the East whom they knew well not to be enemies of the people or fascist hyenas. When such men were drummed out of public life, or when they turned up in Western Europe as fugitives from their homeland, the effect was to waft away what margin of doubt still lingered concerning Russian aims toward Europe. Today the democratic Left in Europe is substantially united in accepting the urgency of immediate rearmament—a decision whose repercussions for the recovery effort I shall examine later.

The Marshall Plan has thus clarified the issues. Democratic Socialists today feel they have more in common with capitalists who believe in democracy than with totalitarians who say they believe in socialism. An intelligent British Socialist like Richard Crossman, who in "Keep-Left" days was the great exponent of British neutrality, now regards the interests of democratic socialism in Europe as inextricably involved with the support of the US against Russia. Two years ago Crossman condemned the holding of staff talks between Britain and the US; today he calls for the resumption of military lend-lease. He is simply expressing, more compactly than most, the change of heart through which most European Socialists have now passed.

The consequence is that the will-to-recover and the will-to-resist are, on the whole, strongest in the countries where socialism is most securely in power—in Britain, Scandinavia, the Low Countries and Austria, where a strong Socialist Party controls or shares the control of the government and controls the trade unions. These countries are united in their opposition to Soviet aggression, and the Communists remain in each an impotent and gloomy minority.

France and Italy, however, present a different picture. Where the tough Socialist Parties, like the Austrian and the British, always fought totalitarianism to the Left as well as to the Right, the French and Italian Socialist Parties were weakened by the doctrine of the united front. Through Socialist stupidity, the Communists were able to acquire a mass base, and with it the capability of paralyzing the action of the government and destroying the fabric of mutual confidence upon which democracy rests.

One feels above all in France and Italy the need for discovering new sources of hope and faith. It is not surprising, therefore, that the idea of a united Europe has touched deep springs in the popular imagination in these two nations. It was the French government which on last August 18 called for the establishment of a European Assembly; it was the Italian government which on last August 24 suggested that OEEC be given political powers and thus be converted into the foundation for the Western Union.

The movement toward European federation, germinating in the Marshall Plan, thus receives special stimulus from the concrete and urgent political needs of France and Italy. But this movement confronts the United States with insistent questions, and it cannot proceed much further toward its goal until we begin to formulate our answers.

Europeans are demanding to know what relationship the US itself proposes to have with a Western federation—and especially what the nature of the military relationship is to be. No European country, particularly Great Britain, can be expected to plunge into a European federation until that federation makes military sense and promises a measure of military security. And Europeans do not see how any federation can make military sense unless it is underwritten strategically by the United States. At the same time, the darkening international crisis imposes on every responsible European government the duty of making rearmament its first priority; and the effect of this may soon be to divert manpower and economic resources from the task of recovery.

The next phase of European recovery moves inescapably into the realm of military security. The implications of this new phase for US policy create the next set of problems for the Administration and for the US people.

A second article will discuss some of these implications and analyze other problems emerging from the first four months of ERP. – THE EDITORS

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

TWO MEN OF LETTERS

by Malcolm Cowley

THE CRITICS and the scholars, cheered along by the publishers, are continuing their excavations of American literature. Here are new books about two of the Concord worthies.

Joseph Wood Krutch's *Thoreau* is described as a critical biography. The term needs definition and perhaps it also needs debate on the question, Are critical biographies necessary? As a rule, they contain few discoveries about the lives of their subjects. The critical biographer, if he is dealing with an author already studied by others, simply rearranges the facts to be found in standard noncritical biographies. He pays more attention to the author's work; but his chief interest is in pointing out the relationship between works and life, so as to give the total picture of a literary personality. If the picture is fresh and convincing, his book was needed.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU, by Joseph Wood Krutch (William Sloane Associates; $3.50).
NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE: A BIOGRAPHY, by Randall Stewart (Yale University Press; $4).

Krutch's total picture of Thoreau is more convincing than it is novel; perhaps "sensible" would be the best word for it. The book is written without rhapsodies and almost without conjectures about Thoreau's sex life or about hidden dramas that may or may not have fixed the path to be followed by his talent. Krutch pictures him as marching straight ahead from youth to middle age and, in the most eloquent passage of the book, as dying a happy man. A final chapter deals with Thoreau's style in an acute and sensible fashion. As for judgment, Krutch believes that the one great book was *Walden*, but that Thoreau's life work was the *Journal*, out of which a dozen pretty good books have been quarried by others.

Perhaps the trouble with Krutch's picture—for it did leave me vaguely dissatisfied—was that Thoreau wasn't a sensible man. He was Yankee-shrewd about many subjects, unhumanly wise about some, and foolish or at least innocent about others. Common sense he did not cultivate, or else he would have married and prospered in the pencil-making business instead of becoming the subject of critical biographies. Krutch's undramatic treatment of him softens the contrast with his neighbors and levels the crags of his personality. Perhaps the prose of this volume is too straight-grained and free from knots, so that the mind glides over it like a carpenter's jack-plane. Krutch has always written well, and when excited by his subject—as years ago in *The Modern Temper*—he has also written with persuasive force. One feels that he wasn't excited this time and that he wrote the book as he would carry out an assignment, sensibly.

Henry David Thoreau—to give the full title—is the first volume in the new American Men of Letters Series, which is described as "an integrated group of authoritative volumes written by today's best critics, and dealing with the lives and works of novelists, poets, philosophers, historians and political thinkers who, as writers, have influenced the development of American thought." Krutch is one of the editors, with Margaret Marshall, Lionel Trilling and Mark Van Doren. I was enthusiastic about the series when it was first rumored, but now, with the announcement of 22 volumes published or in preparation, my enthusiasm is beginning to be tempered with the doubts I mentioned about the usefulness of critical biographies.

They are useful when an author's work is still to be considered at length and assigned its place in the scale of literary values. They are even more useful, perhaps, when an author's work has been misjudged and underestimated. In the case of standard authors who have received intelligent treatment in the past, they are likely to waste the reader's time, not to mention that of the critical biographer. Looking over the list of volumes in preparation, I feel hopeful about those on Hart Crane, Stephen Crane, Dreiser, Fitzgerald and Parkman, among others. A book on E. A. Robinson, by Emery Neff, has just appeared as second in the series and proves to be a fresh approach to the subject (I hope to write about it soon). But why a new book on Cooper when the biography by Robert E. Spiller is still available and pretty definitive? Why still another Jefferson and another Lincoln? Why set Mark Van Doren to work on a new critical Hawthorne? He will do a competent and sensitive study, as always, but why couldn't he have chosen some author less written about? And why couldn't a series like this simply reprint Newton Arvin's excellent *Hawthorne*, with the revisions made necessary by recent scholarship?

Many or most of the recent discoveries about Hawthorne's life have been made by Randall Stewart of Brown University. He edited the American and the English notebooks and published their complete text in its original form. He went over the letters that Hawthorne wrote to his wife before and after their marriage and, by restoring most of the inked-out passages, changed our picture of the most affecting courtship in the history of American literature. He traced some of Hawthorne's political activities, which proved to be more extensive and pro-

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fessional than anyone had suspected. Often working by himself, but sometimes collaborating with other students, he assembled enough material for a two-volume definitive life of Hawthorne, and perhaps he was wrong not to write it.

His *Nathaniel Hawthorne* is something else, a comparatively short factual biography that serves as a condensed report of his findings. It is a narrative, not a scholarly treatise; but scholars will turn to it for the answers to many disputed questions. It tells what Hawthorne did, whom he met and how much he earned; and it gives these facts with the assurance of a student who dug them out one by one and fitted them together.

There is only one critical chapter, which is a good one. The weakness of the book lies almost wholly in its interpretation of Hawthorne's character. Briefly, Stewart has discovered so many of Hawthorne's letters to his friends and political associates, so many records of cigars smoked in genial company, that he tries to destroy the whole picture of Hawthorne as a solitary man at any period of his life, even during the twelve years he spent in his Salem chamber.

But the picture is not one invented by romantic biographers; it is Hawthorne's picture of himself, to be found in all his writings. When Stewart argues against it, he is forced to contradict Hawthorne by explaining that "of course he spoke humorously" or "with natural exaggeration" or even "ironically"—as if to imply that he meant the exact opposite of what he said. That wasn't Hawthorne's normal method. He was trying to reveal himself as he was at heart, bad as he sometimes thought himself to be; and when —as often—he called himself "a solitary man" no irony was intended.

Stewart makes the mistake of many biographers in assuming that his subject was a man whose character remained the same all through his life. Because the Hawthornes had a lively social career in Florence in 1858, he argues that young Hawthorne, the bachelor, could not have been a recluse in Salem in 1830. But Hawthorne in his Salem years was not only lacking in effective contacts with the world—in spite of sometimes playing whist in the evening—but he was also frightened by his solitude. He emerged from it after 1837 by a conscious decision and slow efforts to regain a place in what he called "the magnetic chain of humanity." This change is something that Stewart fails to present, so that he misses the drama of Hawthorne's life and the desperation of his love for Sophia Peabody. The hero of this volume is a likable fellow who wears Hawthorne's clothes and earns his income; but he doesn't brood or suffer like the author of *The Scarlet Letter.*

THE COLD WAR

STALINGRAD, by Theodor Plievier (Appleton-Century-Crofts; $3).

SOME SIX YEARS AGO, in the greatest battle of the war (and probably the biggest Cannae in history), the German Sixth Army of General von Paulus, 330,000 strong, was encircled by the Red Army and in two and a half months reduced, by a combination of Russian arms, sub-zero weather and lack of food and munitions, to a wretched remnant of 91,000 creatures, very few of whom could still be termed human beings.

The death of this army, decreed by Hitler's no-surrender order, is chronicled in graceless, block-busting prose, with searing realism and merciless detail, in Theodor Plievier's *Stalingrad*, the greatest document yet to come out of World War II. A German Communist exile, previously noted for his anti-war novels, *The Kaiser's Coolies* and *The Kaiser Goes, the Generals Remain*, Plievier served as a propagandist with the Russians at Stalingrad. Later he interviewed scores of German survivors. But his book is far more than a report; it is an imaginative, dramatized recreation in which dozens of individual soldiers ranging from gravediggers in a penal battalion to the commanding general, as well as the corporate organism of the army itself, play important roles.

Presented wholly from the German viewpoint, the book spares us not a single torment of the ten weeks' inferno: dead soldiers' skulls cracked open and the brains eaten; wounded men heaped in mounds like fish roe; a continuous assembly line of bleeding bodies passing doctors whose only anesthetic is unendurable pain and whose chief prescription is the exposure of hopeless cases to the sub-zero weather in which they will die quickly, painlessly, from freezing. Such remorseless minutiae, plus battle details, both individual and mass, plus the inner conflict, in officers and soldiers, between their instilled, criminal follow-the-leader spirit and the agonies of biology and deeper conscience, are presented with remarkable restraint, surprising freedom from hysteria and a maturity and solidity that evoke respect.

Unfortunately, Plievier always stops short before he puts the final seal of truth upon a human action; he fails to pin down the exact nuances that bespeak a whole character, that universalize an experience and effect an immediate emotional recognition, setting off a kind of chain reaction of feeling and significance. (That is the sort of absolute conviction at which Tolstoy excelled, which Stendhal, Zweig, Hemingway and Crane often achieved, and, more rarely, Remarque and Barbusse.)

Thus *Stalingrad* is revelatory, but not humanly so, not spiritually. Gnotke, the grave-digger who prefers the company of corpses to that of his fellows because he retains sufficient identity with the living to be pained by their suffering, and Vilshofen, the German colonel who "signified the new world that was to arise out of blood and tears," emerge most clearly as individuals. But, like the rest, they are monstrosities, insufficiently humanized to cast more than a shadow on the epic backdrop against which they are portrayed.

As a result, one stands outside and watches the horror. Significance does not come in a sudden shaft of illumination; it permeates gradually by virtue of the mass of authentic detail. And at times this very mass tends to numb and anesthetize. Perhaps another reason the horror never completely

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DRAWING BY SOVIET ARTIST O. VEREYSKY

penetrates is that there are not enough bridges supplied between the known phenomena of the civilian world and the countless, unknown fragments of nightmare that were Stalingrad. A different order of sensitivity and artistry would have been required to supply the necessary contacts, and the chances are that its possessor could not have worked with the second-hand material at Plievier's disposal, but only with his inner experience.

All Quiet on the Western Front and *Under Fire*, both first-person narratives following the fate of a few men, gave more of the inner feel of battle. But *Stalingrad* actualizes the physical, exterior side of war more successfully. It is almost as ruthlessly, punishingly convincing as a film record of the events. And the novelized subjective element, imperfect though it is, does add a dimension of drama and a degree of insight that could never have been achieved by a straight report.

To have succeeded in conveying the epic nature of the nightmare around Stalingrad is achievement enough. But occasionally Plievier also demonstrates a mastery of compressed epigram and an apocalyptic vision that have no parallel in our current war literature.

Plievier, now living in the American zone of Germany, has refused, despite his disillusionment with the Soviets (but not communism), to come to this country under the aegis of the State Department. Instead, he is working in his own country toward the reawakening of the humanistic spirit. With the American publication of *Stalingrad* (which has already sold more than a million copies on the Continent), he provides a European counterpart to John Hersey's *Hiroshima*. In Plievier's book as in Hersey's each of us stands indicted for all time for the guilt of our century. ALEXANDER KLEIN

WHOSE WAR FOR WHAT?

THE WAR LORDS OF WASHINGTON, by Bruce Catton (Harcourt, Brace and Company; $3).

HERE IS a war book about peace, a book about Washington from before Pearl Harbor to the aftermath of V-J Day, that is a tract for this election and the next four years. Bruce Catton, a newspaperman turned publicist, has written, from the vantage point of the inner councils of our wartime planners, a whodunit in which the characters are the men who shaped the home front. The body was an idea—the notion that this was a people's war, and that it should be fought so that the people reaped the victory. The motive for the murder was the determination that the war should leave the country —and the world—as nearly as possible as it was before. Specifically, the concept of a people's war had to be throttled lest the political and economic power-pattern be disarranged.

That thesis threads its way through a book-length editorial, which suffers a little from overstatement of its point of view and overworking of hortatory phrases—"people's war," "world revolution" are used as slogans in a way that may make you wish the author was enough of an economist or political expert to define what he means, instead of a phrase-making journalist with the knack of telling a good story.

But even with these qualifications, *The War Lords of Washington* is one of the most important books to come out of the war, and one of the most readable. It is this because it makes clear so much of what has happened since the war ended, of what is going to become increasingly important next week, next year.

Catton introduces you to important people, not through their public pronouncements, but caught off their ideological guard. Some of them, gone from the scene, are departed in body only. There was Knox of the Navy: "It won't take too long. Say about a six months' war." There was Knudsen, who used a position of power to spread the idea: "Pretty soon we'll have it [the war] squelched, and then we'll go home and pick up exactly where we left off."

What chance did ideas have in such a fog of cocky ignorance, such a yen for "the good old days"? And Catton also gives you an intimate view of the timid ones, like the top OPM official who quavered: "The defense effort is so vast that in the mere doing of it we may destroy the very values we are trying to defend." And the Midwestern manufacturer and

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early specimen of homo liberal-baiter: "The flagpole outside Leon Henderson's office has just been painted. And it's been painted red. And don't tell me that's just a coincidence."

In case you have forgotten him, *War Lords* reintroduces Gano Dunn, spokesman for the steel industry and author of the first chorus of "No expansion in steel—there is in fact something of a surplus," a tune which the industry is still repeating in frequent full-page advertisements. Gunn, of course, couldn't have been wronger. The same goes for C. W. Kellogg of the Edison Electric Institute, who was responsible for speeches predicting no shortage in electric power, still a standard Institute theme and still no more patriotic than it was then. Catton presents a complete roster of Detroiters, led by Charles E. Wilson of General Motors, who appears most in character when he is denouncing any suggestion that labor be given some share in production planning with: "To divide the responsibility for management would be to destroy the very foundation on which America's unparalleled record of industrial accomplishment is built."

Of the candid pictures of Robert Patterson and James Forrestal, perhaps the most meaningful for what is happening today is their systematic opposition to orderly reconversion, their clinging to military domination of the civilian economy as long and as hard as they could, their ruthless backknifing of Donald Nelson and everyone else who opposed them. And, if you want to look ahead a bit, meet Ferdinand Eberstadt, who is currently heading up the defense section of Hoover's committee to reorganize the government, and is generally expected to be Dewey's Defense Secretary. It was he who wanted to turn complete control of the economy over to the military, and who had to be dramatically fired in what was even so an ineffective effort to trim the triumph of the brass.

Catton's villains boast big names; his heroes were mostly relatively small fry. Some gained stature in a losing fight: Robert Nathan, for example, who first battled to raise industry's estimates of what industry could produce, then fought to protect industry from the military's unrealistic demands. John Lord O'Brian, a Buffalo lawyer and a Republican, successfully bucked Bernard Baruch's proposal that the anti-trust laws be suspended for the duration. Stacy May, head of the obscure OPM Bureau of Research and Statistics, gets credit for most of the "arsenal of democracy" thinking. Harold Stein and Maury Maverick struggled vainly to keep some of our scientific resources free from military manipulation. And Robert Horton, WPB information chief, who was finally banished from the war effort because he thought—and acted—as if the people had a right to know what was going on in the world.

Henry Wallace comes off rather well in Catton's book. "He was not in the least the vague and impractical dreamer he was supposed to be; his mind was scientific, direct and orderly, and he was really a better, tougher and more realistic administrator than Donald Nelson." Lest this stamp Catton with a bias, note that he also has great respect for industrialist William Batt and for a relatively unknown dollar-a-year engineer, Fred Searles, "a crusty gentleman of Republican persuasion." When Searles discovered that the owners of a patented process for the nitration of glycerin were unwilling to share it with a cartridge manufacturer who "was not a member of the club," he blew his conservative top.

Catton also keeps an objective keel in his appraisal of labor's role: he documents his impression that Sidney Hillman was not an unswerving agitator for the Reuther plan. And Hillman apparently did not go along with Phil Murray in demanding a larger share for labor in production planning. FDR goes none too well in Catton's story; ultimately, it was "the Chief" who was afraid of getting ahead of the people and who engineered all the major surrenders. Finally, and perhaps most unexpectedly of all, you come away from this book with a better opinion of Harry Truman, who opposed the whole idea of dollar-a-year men with a simple argument that men in the Army were giving up their careers, too, and having to get along on $140 a month. Why, then, did the businessmen have to continue to draw their pay from their industrial bosses while ostensibly working in the public interest? Wrote Senator Truman: "The practice of retaining dollar-a-year men should be abandoned, so that those who are more interested in their remuneration than in their public service would automatically be eliminated."

The real value of Catton's book comes from the number of times you find yourself thinking how much the same issues are with us still. Take the question of security, and particularly the notion that the military—rather than scientists—know how to keep secrets. It is relevant to read how, the week before Pearl Harbor, Robert Horton cruised around the Norfolk Navy Yard and through the Hampton Roads mine base, with top-drawer secrets in full view, and was never once even challenged. Compare that with the effectiveness with which the nuclear scientists voluntarily policed their fission secrets.

The deliberate manipulation of strike news to needle public opinion is spread out in detail, with obvious relevance to events since and still to come. A nice point in technique is raised by the device of blaming steel shortages on two strikes which hadn't come off, when actually cutbacks had already slowed steel output far below capacity. Catton details—I believe for the first time—the inside story of how the public was sold the idea that the 40-hour week was curbing our military production. This was window dressing for a labor-draft law, at a time when war workers were already beginning to be laid off because we had as much equipment as the armed forces could use, and the WPB was getting set to release goods and manpower for civilian production.

Berating labor, the farmer or just "the public," while at the same time refusing to tell them the true day-by-

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day story of the war, is Catton's gravest accusation against the Washington warlords. He makes his point most elaborately in his chapters on the attitude toward giving small business a share in the war effort and on the fight of the military against any planned reconversion. It is when he is discussing these topics that you wish he knew enough psychology to go a little deeper into the techniques used, and enough economics to point up the tremendous implications of our industrial policy during and after the war. But maybe that would be asking too much. Catton, a good spieler of anecdotes, has written a very lively book. And because the people and the issues he has written about will be around for years to come, I, for one, shall be turning to it often.

HAROLD WOLFF

THE LIMITS OF EVIL

ALL HALLOWS' EVE, by Charles Williams. Introduction by T. S. Eliot (Pellegrini and Cudahy; $2.75).

ALL HALLOWS' EVE is the first in a projected series of Charles Williams' novels to be published in America. T. S. Eliot has provided an introduction to the work and a recollection of his friendship with the author. On the basis of the present novel, one might agree with Eliot's claim that Williams' "books should endure, because there is nothing else that is like them or could take their place."

That at least indicates the difficulty in defining the book. One might say that it is a religious novel, but then it would be necessary to add that it does not attempt to teach or persuade. It is the sentiment that is religious; it is immediately and explicitly concerned with the conflict of Good and Evil, and it treats the subject in terms that are recognized as assumptions of Christian faiths.

Two young women, killed in an accident, find themselves in a world that is their familiar London, and at the same time the "shadowy rooms of the world of the newly dead." Here they become gradually initiated into "that great schism in identity which is death," and begin to understand the motives and disposition of their lives. One of them is saved by her love for her husband. The other is lost because through sheer triviality she surrenders to evil. Incapacity for friendship and affection passes through petty spite to a "hate removed from mortality, malice incapable of death."

Involved with both of the women, and a looming central figure in the book, is the magician, Simon. A man of strange powers, he preaches an obscene gospel of Love and has attracted a great following. His ambition is to extend that dominion among the dead and "begin to be worshiped there."

The most immediately striking thing about the book is the vivid imaginative force by which the author creates totally alien states and experiences and imposes them on the reader's conviction. But this is more than a merely effective apparatus for producing the creeps. What is achieved is a kind of vision of Good and Evil which embodies the attractive power of the one and the repulsion of the other. For the evil portrayed is not Satanic swank, not grand or glamorous; we feel it (to quote the introduction) "as the despair of the damned from which we recoil." The profundity of the book lies still beyond this: while it suggests the power of evil, it demonstrates its limitations. "Powerful as the lie may be, it is still a lie." And the horror resides just there: negation is made palpable, and the reader has a sickening sense of the Void. The method of Simon is to annihilate nature, to confuse reason: in his incantations, for example, "he was removing the meaning itself from the words." It is the reverse of the creative act.

The author's psychology is acute. Not in the sense of creating fictional character; the figures are deliberately kept slight and as personalities are scarcely differentiated. This is inevitable because of the lack of significant action, in the usual sense. The habits of disembodied spirits are not idiosyncratic, and to describe the rites and machinations of a wizard is not to describe him as an individual. The insight is, rather, that of the moralist and is contained in general observation. For example, in speaking of the self-delusions of the damned, Williams mentions "all the sinful and silly imbecilities by which the miserable soul defends itself against fact."

But I wouldn't want to suggest that the book is abstract and argumentative. It is substantially poetic, and it has wisdom from a knowledge that is not information, but experience.

JOHN FARRELLY

THEATRE: Memories

RUTH GORDON'S play, "The Leading Lady," is about the crippling effect of a wife's intense loyalty to the memory of her fascinating but no-good husband. At the last moment of the play, in a much too contrived denouement, the constant wife admits that her devotion has very nearly succeeded in killing her independence, her energy and her talent. Talent is the important factor here, because the wife is an actress.

The theme then is a woman's fight against the bondage of an attachment that is as blind as it is persistent. The environment in which the action develops is that of the New York theatre at the beginning of the century. The dual aspect of the play tends to confuse the audience, as it has to a certain extent the author. The theme is valid and the color is engaging; but the relationship of the two has not been homogeneously developed.

So much time is given in the first act to the atmosphere of an opening-night party in 1899, and so much is made of the drawing-room histrionics of the actor husband, that we almost miss the real point, which is that, for all the man's vicious ego, the lady *loves* him. Garson Kanin's direction

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of Ian Keith as the husband, moreover, is a serious psychological and theatrical error. For the point about the old-time stage star is that, despite every personal fault, he was attractive by virtue of an immense, life-stirring vitality. If the husband in the play is merely an offensive ham without the qualities that might charm audiences as well as his wife, we cannot accept her problem as anything but fictitious.

The play suffers from an underwritten central part, as if the author, in her infatuation with the play's theatrical background, had used her heroine merely as a peg on which to hang stage chromos of yesteryear. Added to this, Miss Gordon has miscast herself in the part. As an actress she is essentially an introvert with a certain acidulous poignancy of emotion—compounded of shyness, quiet observation, shrewdness of wit, hurt and spite—which is not the quality this particular role requires.

Nevertheless, "The Leading Lady" has a number of appealing moments—for example, the scene in which a sensitive and adoring stage-manager gives the famous actress her notice, or the conversations among the older actors. Play and production are faulty, yet one leaves the theatre with a respectful sense that the play was born of true feeling. The actors who represent the older generation in the theatre exemplify their virtues. Ethel Griffies, William J. Kelly and Harry Sheppard have good speech and voices, relaxation, gusto and flavor. The play closed after a run too short for its merits. The producers might well have made a fight for it.

Dramatic critics should remind themselves from time to time that all sorts of audiences go to make up what is called the Public. It was hard for me to believe, for example, that anybody at the Shubert Theatre the other night was enjoying "My Romance," the musical play that had been adopted from Edward Sheldon's old hit, "Romance." That it is old-fashioned is not one of its liabilities, but perhaps its sole asset. What is discouraging is that, with one notable exception, everything about it seems to have been exhumed from a theatrical warehouse. To be properly nostalgic one must be alive. "My Romance" isn't. Yet I met people at the show, people I suspected of good taste, who professed to like it.

The exception to the rule in "My Romance" is Anne Jeffreys, a stunning girl of the type that an old-time manager would take pains to make into a first-class stage personality. She has a voice that might be further developed, and the kind of endowment for acting that is not as common as one might suppose. It would be a pity if she were wasted. She is miscast and mishandled in "My Romance," but she provides its only relief.

"Life with Mother" (at the Empire) is the best thing of its kind since "Life with Father." Because this cameo epic of the Day family has now become an institution, there is really little point in reviewing it as a play. To try to apply the ordinary critical standards to it would be something like asking your nice old aunt and uncle who are getting along beautifully in the country to submit themselves to psychoanalysis.

Every once in a while during the course of the evening it occurred to me that Father might be considered the kind of old fool the vulgar sometimes compare to a portion of the horse's anatomy; that, seen in a certain light, his wife is really a birdbrain and their children little horrors of propriety. But such thoughts must be quickly suppressed on all counts—not the least of which is that they might lead to incriminating questions as to one's patriotism. HAROLD CLURMAN

RADIO: Vaudeville and Picket Lines

THERE is a new show, "Life with Luigi," on CBS Tuesday nights at 9:30. It deals with the ways of a recent immigrant to Chicago's "Little Italy," an antique-shop owner named Luigi Basco. Among Luigi's concerns are avoidance of marriage to Rosa, the robust daughter of his financial backer, and the proper upbringing of a 12-year-old orphan boy whom he has adopted. He has one ambition: to be an American in the fullest sense.

In his desperate pursuit of Americanism, Luigi has made himself an expert on American history. He cherishes every principle in the Bill of Rights, worships the ground trod by his night-school teacher, hoards statues of American Presidents (to the detriment of good business), and in general behaves in a manner which older Americans are likely to dismiss as excessively sentimental.

"Luigi" is the brainchild of Cy Howard, a skillful man who knows how to put a show over and has proved it previously with the situation comedy, "My Friend Irma." That one intends to be, and is, sheer fun. In "Luigi," however, Howard started with the idea of projecting the newly arrived immigrant, whatever his place of birth, as a warm, simple, human character acceptable to the descendants of earlier immigrants. The theme comes through, but too often it has to fight uphill against the impedimenta of excessive invention, too many laugh-loaded lines, and just plain slush.

J. Carroll Naish plays Luigi well, but he can't lick the gimmicks in the script. *The American College Dictionary* defines "gimmick" as "a device by which a magician or carnival pitchman works a trick." That's being extremely kind. In my days on a carnival lot—long before "gimmick" became respectable enough for a lexicographer's recognition—the device was not only tricky; it was dishonest. It rigged the game against the suckers.

"Luigi" is forthright in intention, and often amusing. But, between comedy and gimmicks, a half-dozen listenings have left me with only a foggy notion of the creator's purpose. Too often, Luigi makes me unhappy—not because as a prototype of the new

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American he is awkward, but because as a symbol of radio's fear to show itself without corsets he is too dapper.

Milton Berle's television vaudeville program (Tuesdays at eight on NBC) is only a notch or two in popularity rating above a CBS vaudeville half-hour master-minded Sunday nights at nine by New York *Daily News* columnist Ed Sullivan. There is as much real comparison between them as between a slick Broadway musical and the embarrassment of parlor theatricals.

Ed Sullivan is clumsy, tongue-tied and pitiful as master of ceremonies. Once in a while he brings on some talented singers or musicians; then the cameramen gang up like a bunch of amateur snapshot fans. Most of Sullivan's features are tasteless. He has had Dewey "Pigmeat" Marchand play his Negro caricatures of the "jedge" and the ignorant "cullud" man scared to death of ghosts. When he gets going well, he brings on a comedian whom he describes imaginatively as "bald-headed," and the man proceeds to tell Jewish cloak-and-suit jokes that aren't nearly as fresh as Lindy's bagels. In short, Sullivan's show threatens not only to stop television in its tracks, but to push vaudeville back into the tomb.

Friday nights, at 8:30, CBS puts on a television program that makes no pretense to anything but slapstick and ancient American melodrama. The mellers are played straight by a genius named Ernest Sarracino, as villainous a scoundrel as ever I hissed in my youth at the old Rochester Lyceum. The ingenue, Virginia Gibson, is blonde and sweet, and if it wasn't her mother I fell in love with on those distant Saturday afternoons, it was her grandmother. Johnny Downs plays the perennial juvenile; Johnny Silver is an ingratiating comedian; and in between acts a bombshell named Bibi Osterwald gives out with old-time songs. The studio audience is used as it should be at this kind of performance, for heckling and atmosphere. This could be folk art; it is certainly part of our dramatic lore, and nostalgic fare with a charm of its own.

The Radio Writers' Guild is on strike. About 75 sponsored network programs are on the "unfair" list. The rest of the programs—through their agencies, "package" owners, or producers—have signed with the Guild, while the networks are under a contract which a year ago set basic minimums for scripters.

The Guild's "unfair" list cannot be published here, because the agencies are fast breaking ranks. I can tell you that most big programs are now under Guild contract. These include, for instance, the principals in the battle of the giveaways, Fred Allen and "Stop the Music."

The Authors' League of America, with which the Guild is affiliated, is supporting the strike and has ordered its members (novelists, dramatists, etc.) not to sell or lease material to struck programs.

Prominent radio writers are marching on picket lines in New York, Hollywood and Chicago. Other broadcast unions—the American Federation of Radio Artists, the Radio Directors' Guild, etc.—are observing the present law by giving no formal backing to the RWG strike, but well-known actors and directors are helping as individuals.

Sponsors now in the doghouse are listed on leaflets being passed out by RWG pickets. If you are near New York's Radio Row, look me up on the picket line. SAUL CARSON

MUSIC: Westward the Course of Opera

THE New York City Opera Company, now in its fifth year at the New York City Center, is extending its sphere of operation toward the west. Under the sponsorship of the Chicago Music Foundation, a publicly controlled remnant of the Samuel Insull dynasty with $25,000 a year to devote to operatic production in Chicago, the New York company will take over the Civic Opera House for a three-week season in December, presenting its complete current repertory with the New York casts and productions.

This engagement represents more than an out-of-town booking for Laszlo Halasz's well-organized company. It is the opening move in an attempt to reinstate grand opera in Chicago, where its fortunes have been bad ever since the Insull collapse in 1932. The $30 million Civic Opera House provides the country's best facilities for the presentation of opera, with superb stage and lighting equipment, modern construction, good sight-lines, and 3,500 comfortable seats. In recent years every attempt to use the house has ended in financial distress, for the old Civic Opera scenery requires a vast and costly crew of stagehands and technicians.

In the hope of finding a way to reinstate the Civic Opera House, the Chicago Music Foundation, aided by a civic committee, has invited Halasz to provide a demonstration of the low-cost opera he has been giving—at a small profit last year—in the City Center. If the public responds, Chicago will set up its own opera company in 1949, in a reciprocal arrangement with the New York City Opera Company. Operas will be prepared in both cities and exchanged. Neither company will be a satellite, but each will profit from the contributions of the other. Halasz hopes that the repertory can be broadened and the casts strengthened to a degree that will justify a six-month season between the two cities. One of the chief problems of operatic finance has been the high overhead cost of a short season; the economic advantages of spreading the expense over a half-year may be sufficient to keep the enterprise permanently in the black.

Meanwhile Halasz's company has gotten under way in its eight-week fall season at the City Center. The first addition to the repertory was Mozart's "The Marriage of Figaro," sung in English despite the objections of some

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of the City Center board. Since the translation by Ruth and Thomas Martin was bright and reasonably tasteful, the use of English was a fine idea, for it let the audience understand the intrigues and innuendoes of a story whose intricacies are a perennial mystery to patrons of the Metropolitan, where this opera is done in Italian.

The cast included some of the best young singers in America—James Pease as Figaro, Frances Yeend as the Countess, Virginia MacWatters as Susanna, and a striking newcomer, Frances Bible, as Cherubino—all of whom delivered the music with a delightful sense of style, and acted with a real feeling for ensemble. In its overall musical values the performance was one of the best the company has given. Joseph Rosenstock, who conducted at the Metropolitan for a few weeks in 1929 but left when he did not see eye to eye with Artur Bodansky, returned to New York after two decades' absence to conduct the score with an extraordinary grasp of tempo, instrumental texture and correlation of the pit with the stage.

Chicago will probably like "The Marriage of Figaro," even at the $4.80 top proposed for the Civic Opera House (the City Center has a $3 ceiling). Not having grown up with the project, however, Chicagoans may be less tolerant of the company's treatment of the other operas. It is too early to turn in a box score for the season, but my experience this fall gives me the unhappy feeling that the City Opera's productions are burdened with more inept staging and mediocre singing than the law ought to allow. The settings of "Pelléas et Mélisande" and "Don Giovanni" are visual monstrosities. The staging of "Salome," which has deteriorated this fall, now violates the point of the story repeatedly, and allows Brenda Lewis to abandon the head of John the Baptist for most of the ghoulish closing scene, to declaim the music in Wagnerian fashion at the audience at a great distance from the head she is supposed to be apostrophizing. "Carmen" has been sung twice by a cast in which only the Micaela, a minor figure, was up to her role.

This last, however, is something of an exception, for most of the operas are more successful musically than theatrically, despite Halasz's great and genuine concern with their dramatic aspects. He simply needs better stage direction; his motives are good but his choice of personnel is not entirely wise. And on the credit side must be entered Theodor Komisarjevsky's admirable staging of Tschaikovsky's "Eugen Onegin" and Gian-Carlo Menotti's witty dealings with his own double bill, "Amelia Goes to the Ball" and "The Old Maid and the Thief."

CECIL SMITH

MOVIES: The Snake Pit

WHENEVER the European film makers send over a picture that is purposeful, adventurous, courageous or merely grown up, it is obligatory for fastidious reviewers to observe bitterly that Hollywood lacks the brains, artistry or daring to undertake such work locally. I have made the remark not infrequently and shall probably fall back on it again, but I exclude "The Snake Pit" from all such future generalizations. Hollywood may be moribund, as charged, but when it produces a film of this quality it is not dead.

The heroes of the enterprise are Darryl F. Zanuck, who bought the story for 20th Century-Fox; Anatole Litvak, who directed the film and produced it in collaboration with Robert Bassler; Olivia de Havilland, the leading lady, and Leo Genn, who supports her. There is also, of course, Mary Jane Ward, who wrote the (at least in part) autobiographical novel.

"The Snake Pit" is the history of a woman's commitment to a state mental hospital and of her eventual cure. To the institutional material, taken almost directly from the novel, has been added the case history of the heroine's disintegration and madness. The possibilities for disaster in this plot are so many and so obvious that you approach the theatre with clammy forebodings of the kind that normally hang over a high-school exercise in public speaking. The fears are needless; few films have ever demonstrated so certain a grasp of material. The group responsible for "The Snake Pit" knew exactly what it felt must be said, and found the precise emotional level at which best to say it. As a consequence, the circumstances of the film follow one another with the kind of inevitability that guards against error; it was even possible in such an atmosphere to

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suggest the comic aspects of insanity without becoming offensive.

The purpose of "The Snake Pit" is two-branched: to explore the nature of insanity itself and to describe the care provided for the great bulk of our insane. The film's discussion of madness is necessarily on a primer level; the case history is neater probably than doctors ever meet in reality. The principles it outlines, however, are accurate and the point it makes is the important one that insanity is not an inscrutable horror but a deviation from normality whose origin can most often be discovered and its erratic orbit traced.

"The Snake Pit" throws a bridge of understanding, of comradeship even, across the gap between sanity and madness. It gives you a new respect for the toughness of the human mind and a sense of gratitude that this should be so.

The other theme of the picture is expressed in its title. Miss de Havilland proceeds through her adventure as though down a charmed nightmare. She recovers because one doctor (Leo Genn) becomes obsessed—professionally, not amorously as you might expect—by her case and devotes to her a completely disproportionate amount of his attention. She recovers because he comes to her aid with every resource at his command; around her writhes a chorus of the defenseless damned.

The others are condemned, as it were, to insanity, not from cruelty nor even in many cases from lack of basic knowledge. Time is what is lacking—time and space and training. There is not an evil figure in "The Snake Pit," but there are plenty who are insensitive, incompetent, exasperated, frustrated and on the border of madness themselves. We have developed a culture that strains reason to the breaking point; "The Snake Pit" suggests that among our inalienable rights we might well include the enjoyment of sanity. The picture these movie people have made is not overdone; if you think it is, have a glance at Albert Deutsch's forthcoming *Shame of the States*, in which the facts are documented by name and date and photograph.

The picture, by the way, is a superb dramatic performance, directed with straightforward efficiency and acted with extraordinary honesty and perception by the entire cast. Miss de Havilland will win an Oscar, but that, under the circumstances, is really a trivial thing to say. She will win a general admiration that is harder to get and will last a lot longer.

It now becomes clear why the American sponsors of the old Marcel Pagnol Marseilles trilogy released the films out of chronology. "Fanny," which is in the middle of the sequence, was shown first because it is the best. The other two—"Marius" and now "César"—are just not strong enough to be self-supporting. There are good moments in all three; how could there fail to be with Pagnol directing Raimu, Charpin, Pierre Fresnay and Orane Demazis? But what was said here of "Marius" is true of "César": byplay has overcome action; sincerity has been sacrificed to idiosyncrasy; it repeats itself and it shows off. As an example of film making and film acting it has its points of excellence, but as a film in its own right it is not very good.

"A Song Is Born" is a framework for displaying the skills of a number of great jazz musicians, among them Benny Goodman, Tommy Dorsey, Louis Armstrong, Lionel Hampton and Mel Powell. As a framework it successfully obscures these talents. The musicians do not perform enough, nor do they perform at the top of their abilities. They look as though they found the whole performance embarrassing, and they are right. Danny Kaye contributes the kind of goggling humor that Harold Lloyd a good many years ago wisely decided he had run into the ground; Virginia Mayo contributes her natural endowments, which are considerable.

By counting the hep-cat noses in the country, Samuel Goldwyn has probably assured himself of a profitable venture at the box office, but I suspect that

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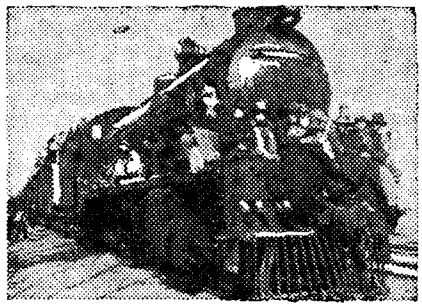

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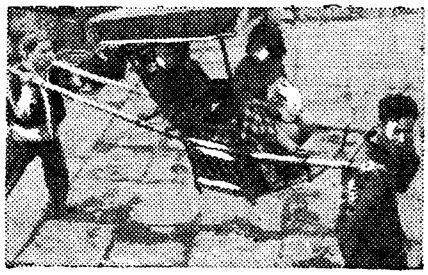

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anti-Goldwyn mutterings in jive circles may in the end mount up to a movement.

The latest film from Italy, "Four Steps in the Clouds," contains an ironically pleasant idea that is unhappily lost in a complex of ineptitudes. It is the story of a husband in a sordid and strident household who, on his travels, rises to heights of courage and eloquence in defense of a misused girl. He takes his stand on the side of love and humanity, wins his duel, and then returns weary and flaccid to the outcries of his shrew and the smell of milk burning on the stove.

It could have been a touching homily on the human spirit invincible, but it is choked by ponderous direction and by the inability of the principals to blow real life into the script.

ROBERT HATCH

CORRESPONDENCE

Medicine and Politics

SIR: It is shocking that in the article on "The Negro in Politics" in its October 18 issue, the *New Republic* repeats calumnies which have been put into circulation with the sole purpose of defeating the movement for national health insurance. The Physicians Forum, a national organization of some 1,000 physicians, all members of the American Medical Association, was formed some ten years ago to promote a more liberal and enlightened attitude among physicians regarding problems of medical care.

When the Forum finally concluded that national health insurance was the only means of assuring adequate medical care to all the people of this country, and supported the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, it was at once attacked by the American Medical Association and the National Physicians Committee, and called a subversive organization. All the usual techniques of red-baiting propaganda were employed, and it was proclaimed that the idea of national health insurance is derived from Moscow, that all who favor it are fronting for communists, and that health insurance legislation is primarily designed to serve as a means of introducing totalitarian methods of government into the United States. Apparently the *New Republic* has succumbed to the constant reiteration of these falsehoods.

Compulsory health insurance has nothing to do with communism or with Russia. The Physicians Forum has no ideology save the traditional idealism of medicine and the hope of improving medical care in the United States. It has no direct or indirect affiliation with any other organization nor are its leaders fellow travelers.

ERNST P. BOAS, M. D.,
Chairman of the Physicians
New York City Forum, Inc.

SIR: So that readers may judge for *themselves, here in full is quoted that* portion of my article to which Dr. Boas evidently objects:

> Dr. Cannon is as active in medical, as he is in general politics, being a leader of the Physicians' Forum faction in the New York County Medical Society. In a sharp struggle against the Society's administration last May, Cannon's group was accused of following "a foreign ideology," and its slate of officers was defeated. This attack was inspired partly by conservative-minded opposition to the Forum's espousal of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell health bill, and partly by fear of infiltration on the part of suspected fellow travelers in the Forum's leadership.

Clearly, the Forum was not characterized as a political organization, as Dr. Boas accuses, but as a group engaged in a quest for power within a certain profession—which in itself is no great crime—and hence in that respect involved in (medical) "politics." Nor did the *New Republic* repeat "calumnies" used to attack the Wagner-Murray-Dingell health bill, but reported a simple fact, namely, that the conservatives in the Medical Society opposed it, and left it to the reader to decide whether this was good or bad. Nor, finally, did the *New Republic* fall for any "red-baiting propaganda," but again, published what happens to be a fact, namely, that members of the Society feared suspected fellow travelers within the Forum's leadership. Does Dr. Boas fail to see the distinction between "red-baiting" and disclosing the truth that some fear the exploitation of liberal ideas, individuals and/or organizations for Communist purposes?

New York City DANIEL JAMES

The Long View

SIR: I read with amazement your "New Beginning" in the *New Republic* of September 27. . . . Your trust in the "liberalism" of the Democratic Party is a bit of naïveté that none of your subscribers in the company I keep expected you to express.

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The chief service of Henry Wallace is in the cause of Soviet-American friendship. The Democratic Administration ship is too heavily loaded down with Wall Street and cartelist Jonahs ever to make port in the stormy weather that prevails. . . . You must know that John Foster Dulles is as much the adviser of Truman as he is of Dewey. . . . Hoover and Dulles, with their mouthpiece Stassen, expect to build up a fighting Germany that will push back real reform in its economy and social life in behalf of military aggrandizement, this time far more powerful than the Nazi machine. Wallace would block this nefarious plan. . . .

What we Wallaceites mean to do is to make of this campaign a party-building effort. . . . And in the process, like the Peoples' Party in 1896, the Progressive Party will throw into Congress some live-minded men who will help to restore both chambers to their senses as legislators for the welfare of our people. If we can do that we shall not mind a failure to elect Wallace President, nor will he.

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– *Head and subhead in the St. Louis* Post-Dispatch.

Base Necessity

In the conduct of its graver foreign policies, the State Department is forced to exercise patience and caution. One reason is that our armed forces are nowhere near ready for supporting action. – *From an editorial in the Baltimore* Evening Sun.

Up, Up and A-w-a-a-a-y!

Dr. Olaf Stapledon, authority on sociology and philosophy, predicted today that the United States and Russia one day will fight as allies in the greatest of all wars—against invaders from other worlds. – *UP dispatch from London.*

Banzai!

[General] Eichelberger said the people of Hiroshima have "nothing but admiration" for Americans. He said they admire "the people of a country capable of making a bomb which could destroy their city." – *UP dispatch from Chicago.*

You Can't Lose

Kaiser-Frazer dealers in Chicago are inaugurating an integrated used-car merchandising program involving the grading and identification of used cars in three groups: Good, better and best. – *From* Steel *magazine.*

Tukey's Last Stand

"It strikes me at this critical era in the history of our great country that the symbolic cigar-store Indian, representing the first Americans, should be reintroduced throughout the country in every retail tobacco store to impress the patriotic responsibility we all have as citizens." – *Richard E. Tukey, in an address to the annual convention of the Cigar Institute of America, as quoted in an AP dispatch.*

Jane Doe

Edgar Johnson, 24, of Thompson, who accidentally shot and killed his wife here on Monday while they were hunting, will be arrested on a charge of hunting deer out of season. – *AP dispatch from Hampton, Connecticut.*

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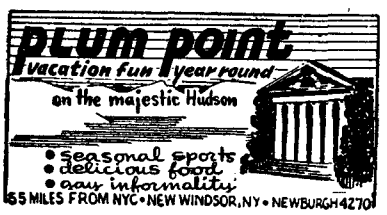
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